

A HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF IRISH SYNTAX:  
THE VERB

By  
Mary Frances O'Kane

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## Texts

The following are the principal texts used for illustrating the syntax described in this account of the verb in Irish:

- CG Críth Gablach, ed. D.A. Binchy, Dublin 1941.
- Wb Glosses on the Pauline Epistles, Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, ed. Stokes and Strachan, Cambridge 1901, Vol. I, p. 499 ff.
- Ml The Milan Glosses on the Psalms, *ibid.*, p. 7 ff.
- VT The Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. Mulchrone, Dublin-London 1939.
- LL Táin Bó Cúalnge, The Book of Leinster, ed. Best and O'Brien, Dublin 1956, Vol. II, p. 261 ff.
- PH Passions and Homilies from the Lebor Brecc, ed. R. Atkinson, R.I.A. Todd Lectures II.
- AS Acallamh na Senórach (ed. Stokes), Irische Texte, IV, ed. Stokes and Windisch, Leipzig, 1900.
- SBC Smaointe Beatha Chríost, ed. Ó Maonaigh, O.F.M., Dublin 1944.
- BC Betha Colaim Chille, ed. O'Kelleher and Schoepperle, Urbana, Illinois, 1918.
- TBB Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis, ed. O. Bergin, Dublin-London 1931.
- PB Párliament na mBan, ed. B. Ó Cuív, Dublin 1952.
- SB Scéalta ón mBlascaod, ed. K. Jackson, Béaloideas, 1938, Vol. VIII, p. 3 ff.
- EM Eachtra Múinteóra, "Loch Measca", Dublin 1929.
- GG An Grá agus an Ghruaim, Seosamh Mac Grianna, Dublin (no date).
- GG(2) Do. with Vocabulary.

### Dates of Composition

	A.D.
CG	c. 700
Wb	c. 750
M1	c. 825
VT	895-901
LL	c. 1100-25
PH	c. 1150-1200 (PH XIX 1240?)
AS	c. 1175-1200
SBC	1430-61
BC	1532
TBB	1631
PB	1670 (A 1723, B 1756)
SB, EM, GG	20th Century

For sources of the dates cited in that order see: CG, p. xiv; Wb, OIG 5; M1, OIG 6; VT, p. v; LL, Eriu XIV, p. 137, l. 3727; PH, ZCP XVI, p. 321, DF III, Introd.; AS, ZCP XVII, p. 236; SBC, p. xv, par. 3; BC, preface; TBB, p. 1; PB, p. ix.

## GUIDE TO ABBREVIATIONS

ALI	Ancient Laws of Ireland, Vols. I-VI. Dublin 1865-1901.
Anec.	Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts (Bergin, Best, Meyer and O'Keeffe).
BSL	Bulletin de la Société Linguistique, Paris.
BST	Bardic Syntactical Tracts, ed. Lambert McKenna, S.J. Dublin 1944.
Bürgsch.	Die Bürgschaft im irischen Recht. R. Thurneysen, Berlin 1928.
Ceart	Ceart na Gaedhilge, C. Ó Cadhlaigh, Dublin 1922.
Celt.	<u>Celtica</u> - Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
CGT	Coimhréir Ghaedhilg an Tuaiscirt, S.O. Searcaigh, Dublin 1939.
Corm.	Cormac's Glossary (ed. Stokes, Three Irish Glossaries)
Desid.	Desiderius. ed. T.F. O'Rahilly. Dublin 1955.
ÉC	Études Celtiques, Paris.
EIL	Early Irish Lyrics. ed. Gerard Murphy. Oxford 1956.
FB	Fled Bricrend. ed. Windisch, Irische Texte I.
Fél.	Féilire Oengusso Céili Dé (Stokes, Henry Bradshaw Soc.xxix)
FFE	Forus Feasa ar Éirinn. ed. Comyn and Dinneen. London 1902-14.
Gnás	Gnás na Gaedhilge, C. Ó.Cadhlaigh. Dublin 1940.
Graim.	Graiméar Gaelge na mBraíthre Críostaí. Dublin 1960.
Hib. Min.	Hibernica Minora (Meyer)
Ir. Recht	Irisches Recht. Thurneysen. Berlin 1931.
IT	Irische Texte. Windisch and Stokes. Leipzig 1880-1909.
KZ	Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung. Berlin.
Lat. Liv.	Latin Lives of the Saints with the corresponding passages from the Irish Lives, Hogan. Todd Lectures V.
LB	Facsimile of Leabhar Breac (Royal Irish Academy, Irish Manuscripts Series)
LP	A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar. H. Lewis and H. Pedersen. 1937.
LU	Lebor na Huidre. ed. Best and Bergin, 1929.
MSL	Mémoires de la Société Linguistique. Paris.



OIG	A Grammar of Old Irish. Rudolf Thurneysen, 1946.
SR	Saltair na Rann (Stokes)
TBF	Táin Bó Fraich. Byrne and Dillon, Med. and Mod. Ir. Ser. v.
Rule of Tall.	Rule of Tallaght (Gwynn, suppl. vol. to Hermathena xlv)
THES	Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus (Stokes and Strachan). Cambridge 1901.
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society. London.
TTr.	Togail Troi. Irische Texte II (Windisch and Stokes)
VGK	Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen, H. Pedersen, Göttingen 1913.

#### Material Relevant to the Selected Texts

Die Abfassungszeit und Überlieferung der Vita Tripartita, Kathleen Mulchrone, ZCP XVI 1ff; 411 ff.

The Verbal System of the LL Táin, Máirín O'Daly, Eriu XIV 31 ff.

The Verbal System of the Agallamh na Senórach, R.D. Numer, ZCP XXVII 230 ff.

Smacinte Beatha Chríost, Puintí Gramadaighe is Litrithe, Éigse V 208 ff.

Other sources and their abbreviations are in footnotes passim.

## Preliminary Description of the Verb in Old Irish

### Absolute and Conjunct Flexion<sup>1</sup>

The personal endings have two flexions in the Old Irish simple verb; these were first named 'absolute' and 'conjunct' by Zeuss. This syntactic feature is present in the moods and tenses which originate in the Indo-European present aorist complex, present indicative, present subjunctive, future and preterite. Some secondary examples may also be found in the preterites from the IE perfect, e.g. the suffixless and long-vowel preterites. Only the conjunct forms occur in the imperfect, the secondary future, and the past subjunctive, due to the presence of the pre-verbal particle no. It may be shown that this dual flexion spread from the present throughout the other tenses in Old Irish, and since the fundamental type is the thematic a/o formation, the following paradigm of the present indicative of the verb berid < \*bhereti may be used as illustration of the absolute and conjunct forms:

singular	Absolute	Conjunct	Plural	Absolute	Conjunct
1.	<u>biru</u>	<u>-biur</u>	1.	<u>bermai</u>	<u>-beram</u>
2.	<u>biri</u>	<u>-bir</u>	2.	<u>beirthe</u>	<u>-berid</u>
3.	<u>berid</u>	<u>-beir</u>	3.	<u>berait</u>	<u>-berat</u>

The conjunct flexion is used<sup>2</sup>

1. in the imperative apart from the 2 sg. and 3 sg. of vocalic stems, thus beram 'let us carry', berat 'let them carry'

2. in the responsive, e.g. the form of the verb used in reply to direct questions: In áigther ecc a Brénainn'ar espoc M(ainenn). Águr em' or Brénaind 'Do you fear death Brendan?' said the Bishop M. 'I fear indeed' said B. RC XXXI 309

3. in the archaic construction known as Bergin's law where the verb stands at the end of the sentence: demin dom t(h)riathaib tung 'truly I swear by my lords' ZCP 17.268

<sup>1</sup>See Calvert Watkins, Celtica 6.41-3; Thurneysen, A Grammar of Old Irish 342 for sources of the above statements.

<sup>2</sup>I follow Watkins, op.cit. 43 for nos. 1 and 2 here. They are put first because of their importance to the analysis of the early history of the conjunct flexion; see below. For this (2) and other examples of conjunct in replies see Maartje Draak, Ériu 16.77 ff.

4. in all forms where a preposition or adverb is used with the verbal stem to make up a compound verb, thus do-beir 'brings'.

5. after the verbal particles ro and no and after the conjunctions and particles known as the conjunct particles; no-m-charat 'they love me', ro-m-gab 'he has taken me'. See below for a list of the conjunct particles. The absolute flexion is used in any position other than these.

#### Deuterotonic and Prototonic Verbal Compounds

When a finite verb is compounded with one or more preceding prepositions the stress is normally on the second element, i.e. in simple compounds on the first syllable of the verb itself as in do-beir 'he gives', in multiple compounds on the second preposition do-ro-gaib 'commits'. This is the "deuterotonic" form. The "prototonic" forms are those in which the stress falls on the first preposition as in tabair 'give!'.

The prototonic is used (OIG 38)

1. In the imperative tomil 'eat!' Wb. 6 c 7; but the deuterotonic is used when an infixed pronoun is present du-m-em-se 'protect me!' Ml. 72 d 11

2. In the responsive forms (see conjunct usage above), Ni chumci son. Cumcim ecin 'Thou canst not do that. I can indeed'. LU 5167

3. In examples of Bergin's Law, Fintiu for cul cuindegar 'Hereditary land is claimed back' ALI iv 38, 14ff.

4. After the conjunct particles (see below).

The deuterotonic is used in any position other than these. The absolute and deuterotonic forms may be termed "independent" and the conjunct and prototonic forms called "dependent".

#### The Conjunct Particles

The following conjunctions and particles are obligatorily followed by the dependent forms of the verb (OIG 38):

1. The negative particles, ni, nicon, na, nad (nach-), nacon 'not' ni denim 'I do not perform' Wb. 12 c 9, na dene 'do not do' Ml. 55 a 1, nicon-chloor 'let me not hear' Wb. 23 b 41 etc, the negative compounds cani 'nonne?', mani 'if not', ceni 'though not', coni conna cona 'that not' arna 'in order that not': cani epir 'does it not say it?' Wb. 10 d 5, mani pridag 'if I do not preach' Wb 10 d 24, cini árillet 'though they deserve it not' Wb. 31 c 23 conna-biam 'so that we shall not be' Ml. 49 d 3, arna epret 'in order that they say not' Wb. 7 d 8.



2. The interrogative particle in, co 'how?', cecha 'whatsoever' and the unstressed or lightly stressed interrogative pronoun ce, ci, cia (OIG 456): in-coscram-ni 'do we destroy?' Wb. 2 b 20; co acci 'how seest thou' LU 4530; cacha orr 'whichever he may slay' Sg. 12 b 7; cia-beir 'who carries?' LL 12 b 46.

3. The conjunctions ara 'in order that', dia 'if, when', and co n-, con-n- 'so that': Ara n dernaíd 'that ye may do' Wb. 28 a 20, dia -mmaldachae- 'if thou curse' Wb. 5 d 23 co n-epertae 'so that it should be said' Ml. 35 a 8.

4. Prepositions combined with the relative particle (s)a n- such as ar-a 'on which', di-a 'from which', do-a 'to which', fu-a 'under which', oc(c)-a 'at which', for-a, for-sa 'on which', co-sa 'towards which', fri-sa 'against which', la-sa 'with which', tri-sa 'through which', oa 'from which' and i n-, hi n- 'in which': fer óa n-élat be(i)ch 'a person from whom bees escape' ALI iv. 190. 12; in cásá forsa mitter 'everything on which thou passest judgement' Wb. 6 b 22; isin beothu i taa ísu 'in the life in which Jesus is' Wb. 3 c 2.

#### Origin of Absolute and Conjunct

The problem of the origin of this syntactic feature has been considered by many scholars.<sup>1</sup> Windisch, Zimmer, and Thurneysen were of the opinion that this repartition reflected the IE opposition of primary and secondary endings. Primary endings differ from secondary in that they have an added i affix. Meillet postulated the source of absolute and conjunct as based on the difference between IE athematic and thematic formations and he was followed in this by Borgstrom. Pedersen suggested that the absolute forms derive from the suffixing of a subject pronoun to the verbal endings, e.g. is(s) <\*est-is 'is' and berid <\*bheret-is 'carries'. Bergin thought that the use of dependent forms in sentence final position supported Pedersen's explanation, but Thurneysen (OIG 363) refuted this on the grounds that the preceding parts of the sentence acted as preverbs requiring conjunct and prototonic forms and also pointed out that for the other persons of the paradigm the verbal endings do not bear out Pedersen, as they are quite dissimilar to either the IE or the Irish personal pronouns. Though still reluctant to accept the 'is' theory as cogent, Thurneysen proposed that Pedersen's original \*est-is, bheret-is might

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<sup>1</sup>All the works cited follow; Windisch, Kuhns Beitr. 8. 450 Zimmer, KZ 30. 119; Thurneysen, KZ 37, 115, OIG 559-568; Pedersen VGK 2. 340; Meillet RC 28. 369; Borgstrom, Hermathena 23. 54; Bergin, Ériu 12. 197; Dillon, Language 19. 252, TPS (1947) 22 *ibid.* 104; Pokorný, Die Sprache 1. 239, KZ 70. 114 Innsbrucker Beitrage zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderhaft, 15. 129

more plausibly be reanalyzed as \*esti-s, \*bhereti-s. This reanalysis would not preclude original primary endings and could be explained as the use of the nom. sg. pronoun in the 3rd person functioning as a petrified particle to indicate the beginning of a sentence. But, in the last analysis Thurneysen seems to be unconvinced with regard to this explanation of the absolute flexion<sup>1</sup>.

Apparent parallels in Hittite suggested to Dillon that the absolute was a form peculiar to initial position and contained a subject pronoun \*is for all persons. He also adduces that the gemination in a compound deuterotonic verb after the first preverb which originally ended in a vowel is a reflex of a lost \*is. Pokorny as a corollary to this thought that the emphasising pronominal suffixes were replacements of this submerged 'is' element, but later, he reverted to Thurneysen's earlier opinion basing his stand on the fact, that if the form -biur 1 sg. conjunct ultimately derives from the IE primary ending in '-o', then the verbal forms with primary endings must have been present in primitive Irish. He took the absolute and conjunct endings to repeat the IE primary and secondary endings respectively on the basis of principles of rhythm, thus the use of the longer primary endings with non-compound or shorter verbal forms.

All these scholars more or less, were in agreement that the conjunct forms derive from the IE secondary endings, as shown by Thurneysen (OIG 559). The absolute is of doubtful origin but Thurneysen points out the 3sg. and 3 pl. berid <\*bhereti and berait <\*bheronti reflect exactly the IE primary endings stemming from the secondary endings with an added '-i' (OIG 562). With regard to the other persons of the absolute paradigm it is as well to remember that the other IE languages show some of the primary forms to be dialectal innovations of very early date and accordingly the Irish evidence is not so disquieting.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>While remarking that this modification to \*s would serve to explain the 1sg. forms biru indic., bera subj., 2pl. the forms, he shows that all absolute forms could not have had it, e.g. all absolute -r endings and the singular forms of the suffixless preterite OIG 565.

<sup>2</sup>Watkins, Celtica 6.42



The primary endings served to denote present, as opposed to past time which was the mark of the secondary endings in these early IE languages.

The evidence in Celtic and particularly in archaic and classical Old Irish was reviewed again in the independent researches of Meid and Watkins<sup>1</sup>. Both of them reach the same conclusion with regard to the origins of the absolute and conjunct flexion. The basic form is the archaic IE injunctive which was the earliest stratum of the IE verb. The injunctive was lost almost everywhere or else taken as having preterital function in its use with the augment<sup>2</sup>. The Vedic injunctive which has secondary endings only, and the subjunctive in Vedic, which has both primary and secondary endings, show that the original function of primary and secondary endings in IE, was not to distinguish a time element<sup>3</sup>, but that the primary endings probably contained an added deictic particle '-i'. The Old Irish material supplements this evidence from Vedic Sanskrit, as is proved by the complementary distribution of absolute and conjunct. Functionally they do not denote tense but are simply based on an alternating usage, e.g. the absolute with noncompounded forms and thus with the simple verb when it stands alone at the head of the sentence, and the conjunct with all other forms, e.g. the simple verb in Bergin's law in sentence final position, the prototonic and the deuterotonic compounded forms in initial and in final position in the sentence. The conjunct endings reflect the IE injunctive which had secondary endings only. The optional expressive primary forms with an added '-i' replaced the old injunctive functionally but the earlier flexion survives in the imperative plural forms in the early IE dialects. This is evidenced more fully in Irish in all the forms of the imperative (except the 2 sg.<sup>4</sup>) and in the responsive.

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<sup>1</sup>Meid, Die Indogermanischen Grundlagen der Altirischen Absoluten und Konjunkten Verbalflexion, Wiesbaden 1963. See pp. 54-73 for his discussion of this matter. Watkins, Indo-European Origins of the Celtic Verb, Dublin 1962. See p. 6; p. 139; Watkins, Celtica VI, 1-47 See esp. p. 40-47

<sup>2</sup>Meid, op.cit. p.131

<sup>3</sup>Watkins, loc.cit.

<sup>4</sup>Although the forms of the 3sg. imperative are new, the form tét 'let him go' shows the older conjunct flexion in this person of the imperative. The 2 sg. forms are the only original imperatives as such. See Meid, op.cit. 116-8; Watkins, Celtica 6. 43-7



The negation of the OI imperative is the original inherited form na <\*ne plus "a meaningless velar element" which has been replaced by ní <\*ne est in the indicative<sup>1</sup>. While in other IE languages the syntactic principle underlying the alternation of primary and secondary endings no longer hinders the formal renewal of the verbal categories, in Irish it has been morphosyntactically bound while still at the injunctive stage. This petrification resulted in the expansion of the morpho-syntactic principle of absolute and conjunct throughout the Old Irish verbal system.<sup>2</sup>

The problem of the origins of absolute and conjunct has been exhaustively surveyed by Meid, including detailed treatment of all the above mentioned theories which have either been proved effective or invalid. In any case, all earlier work on this subject has been rendered obsolete in the light of the work of Meid and Watkins.

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<sup>1</sup>Watkins, op.cit. 44

<sup>2</sup>Meid, op.cit. 133

## CHAPTER II

Word Order

The initial position which the verb occupies in the Old Irish sentence was not unique in the most archaic Irish. Sentence final position occurs in the two old sentence types which are termed Tmesis and Bergin's Law (OIG 513).

Tmesis

Thurneysen defines this construction as follows: "The first preposition of a compound may stand alone at the head of the clause the remainder following later" (OIG 513). Watkins (*Celtica* 6.31-2) narrows Thurneysen's description by stating that the remainder of the verb always comes at the end of the sentence.<sup>1</sup> Tmesis is found in principal and relative clauses both affirmative and negative, and with infixed pronouns. The first preposition of the compound or the negative particle standing in initial position has the infixed pronoun standing immediately after it when an infixed object is present. One may classify the following types from the examples cited by Thurneysen and Watkins: (1) affirmative non-relative clause, at-- márchathae fri cricha comnámát --curetar 'great battles shall be pressed back against common enemies' territories' ZCP 13.299; with infix, for-don-- itge Brigitte --bet 'on us be Brigit's prayers' *Thes.* II 348, 89; (2) negative principal clause, ni-- hairged finn --foichmen 'it cannot tarnish bright silver' *Eriu* 13. 13. 4; with infix, ni-m-- aes n--argart 'age has not hindered me' *Misc. Hib.* 42; (3) affirmative relative clause, ond rig do-- rea --rúasat 'from the King Who has created celestial spaces' *Imram Brain*, par. 48; with infix, ro-da-- sluagaib --sert 'who has arrayed them in hosts' *ALI* i 12.13; (4) negative relative clause, fiach na-- díre --dlig 'it is a debt which does not give claim to distraint' *Eriu* 12.78; with infix, nacha-- sella duine --tairesseathar 'that a man's glances do not dwell on him' TBDD 907.

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<sup>1</sup>Watkins, op.cit. 31, "In the one case known to me where the verb does not come at the very end of its clause, we have an "amplified sentence" as defined by J. Gonda for Vedic . . . ; what follows the verb may be omitted without altering the sense of the remainder." See also Meid, p. 133 op.cit.

It would seem that examples of the construction discussed by Bergin (Ériu 12. 205-214), where a sentence introduced by the interrogative or indefinite pronouns cia, cid 'who, whosoever, what, whatsoever', and the verb in its dependent form at the end of the sentence fall into the pattern of tmesis; e.g. cia— for curu sen —siastar 'how shall the contracts of the deceased be enforced' (Ériu 11.115) corresponds to (1) above. Likewise the sentence with a meaningless but "distinct form of the copula" attached to the first element—a regular occurrence when the negative particle or conjunctions are in question—is best seen as an occurrence of tmesis<sup>1</sup>: ceso femmuin mbolgaig -mbung 'although I reaped blistered seaweed' (Corm. 1059). Literally 'ceso' means 'though it is', but it seems to mean only 'though' here. This may have happened as Bergin suggests on the analogy of ni 'not' which Thurneysen (OIG 243) suggests has been replaced by ni 'is not'. Accordingly, the affixation of copula forms after cia 'though', ma 'if', dia 'when, if', co n- 'so that, and', etc. in tmesis examples beginning with ceso, mad, diamb, conid, etc. may be etymologically explained.

#### Bergin's Law

This type of sentence was first commented upon by Bergin (Ériu 12. 197 ff). This construction may be defined as follows: "Simple and compound verbs may be placed at the end of their clause; the former then have conjunct flexion, the latter prototonic forms"<sup>2</sup> (OIG 513). Sentences of this type occur in clauses without infixed pronouns, e.g. moladh coir canar 'fitting praise is sung' (Ériu 13. 20.26), fintiu for cul cuindegar 'hereditary land is claimed back' (ALI iv 38. 13).

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<sup>1</sup> Bergin, Ériu 12. 211-2. To take these sentences as tmesis types would follow Pedersen, VgK ii 673, where he treats the negative and interrogatives as preverbs and would fit them in with Old Irish and IE sentence patterns as found by Watkins (see Ch. I).

<sup>2</sup> Watkins in conversation says that negative sentences may well have occurred in the Bergin's Law construction; this would explain the form ni < \*ne est since it is in this position (at sentence end) only that \*est(i) was accented permitting contraction. It would seem that in the case of \*ne this position was abandoned early, an explanation which might be accepted in view of the other arbitrary re-arrangements of sentence particles in Celtic.



A sentence pattern occurs where an object preceding a verb in sentence final position is repeated after the verb in the form of a suffixed pronoun. These examples are taken by Thurneysen (OIG 513) as being a "mixed construction" and in this he is followed by Watkins (*Celtica* 6.33); they are not occurrences of Bergin's Law proper as is shown by the absolute endings of the simple verb before suffixed pronouns e.g. libra Solmam sex-us 'the books of Solomon he followed them'. This would thus be a blend of the forms libra (acc.) S. sechestar 'he followed the books of S.' and libuir (nom.) S. Sexus 'the books of S., he followed them'.

#### Normal Old Irish Construction

The normal sentence order in Old Irish is the verb followed by its subject and then the object and / or other predicate<sup>1</sup> (OIG 513) e.g. beoigidir in spirut in corp in fecht so 'the spirit vivifies the body now' Wb. 13 d 7, na taibred (neg. part. plus verb) cách úaibh (subj.) bréic (direct object) immalaile (indirect object) 'let not one of you deceive (lit. give lie to) another' 27 b 12.

#### Words which may precede the Old Irish Verb in Initial Position

The finite verb at the head of its sentence may be preceded only by the following particles and words:

1. Pretonic prepositions, do-beir 'gives', and adjectives prefixed to the verb in an adverbial function, nuie-táinic 'he has newly come' Wb. 7 c 7,

2. The negative particles, ni-rrobe 'has not been' Wb. 14c 31, na tiubrad 'let him not defraud' 9 d 20, manibbad 'if it were not' Sg. 17 b 8, etc.

3. The interrogative particles and pronouns, in-tsamlammar-ni 'do we imitate?' Wb. 11 b 16 and cia-tai-siu 'who art thou?' LU 6307. Here also may be included the indefinite pronoun ce, ci, cia, cecha, 'whosoever, whatsoever, all that' cechaepert 'all that he said' Anecd. ii 63.14

4. The conjunctions introducing both principal and subordinate clauses, acus 'and', acht 'but', sech 'both, although', ara 'in order that', dia 'if, when', cia 'although' ma 'if', co n- 'so that', amal 'as, when' in tan 'when', etc. (Examples of these and the other conjunctions will be given in the relevant material dealing with the various co-ordinate and subordinate clauses. For some, see p. The Conjunct Particles)

5. Relative (s)a n- after a preposition. (See p. loc.cit.)

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<sup>1</sup>See also Vendryes' Grammaire du Vieil Irlandais, par. 516

6. Infixes Pronouns, fordob-moinetar Wb 19 d 27 'they envy you',  
nim-charat-sa 'they love me not' Wb 5 c 6.

7. The preverbs ro and no (p. 2 ) after bés 'perhaps' (OIG 384)  
bés asbera-su 'perhaps thou mayest say' Thes. II 7, 29.

#### Distribution of Old Irish Sentence Types

The occurrences of Tmesis and Bergin's Law are confined to the most archaic Old Irish; they are to be found in the earliest poetry, in the oldest stratum of the Laws, and in the alliterative rhetorics in the literature.<sup>1</sup> The archaism of these patterns in the latest stage of their preservation is borne out by the fact that alliteration is always present in the verb and the word preceding it.<sup>2</sup> The normal word order for Old Irish is likewise the norm throughout the subsequent stages of the Irish language as may be seen from the following examples from the texts selected:

- CG tuarg i b epscop dano a glun ria rig 'a bishop, indeed, raises his knee before his king' 605.
- WB ro-cluinethar cách in ffogur 'everybody hears the sound' 12 c 22
- MI do rat Saul athissi foir 'Saul cast his revilings on him' 54 c 16
- VT ro bendach Patraic iarom Eogun cona macaib 'Then Patrick blessed Eogun and his sons' 1773.
- LI rádis Mac Roth aní dia mbaí 'Mac Roth related the matter from which it stemmed (lit. was)' 7692.
- PH doirtid Iacob in usci fair indsin 'Jacob poured the water upon him then' 2337.
- AS ro dhech Finn in tubaig uime 'Finn scrutinised the hill all around him' 722
- SBC uair do togh in Mac so tu ad mathair do fein 'For this Son chose you as a Mother for Himself' 264
- BC acus nir len an cu an fiadh tar abhuinn anunn 'and the hound did not follow the deer across over the river' p.26, 1.28
- TBB dó umhluigh Críost é féin go bás 'Christ humbled Himself unto death' 8465

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 513

<sup>2</sup>Watkins calls the two constructions "conscious stylistic archaisms" Celtica VI 34.



- PB d'fhógair an clamaire ciúnas do dhéanamh trí huaire 'the orier proclaimed that silence be brought about, three times (lit. silence to be made)' 273
- SB cion se tusa achi ní chion tusa e 'he sees you but you do not see him' p.59, l.42
- EM chuir na tighthe móra íongantas orm 'The big houses amazed (lit. put wonder on) me' p.18, l. 34
- GG chuir mé m'fhear agus m'ochtar clainne 'I buried my husband and my eight children' p.3, l. 26

### Origins of Initial Position of Verb

Although the pattern for Indo-European shows the normal position for the verb as sentence final, yet it may be shown that in expressive or emphatic usage the IE verb was at the beginning of its sentence e.g. the accented verb in initial position in Vedic and sentences of the type 'said I, quoth he' in English.<sup>1</sup> Thus the initial position of the verb in Old Irish has IE precedents.

The object pronouns both suffixed and infixed, being enclitics are attracted to the second position in the sentence as demonstrated by Wackernagel's Law; this would result in the initial position of the absolute simple verb with its enclitic object pronoun and it would also bring about the tmesis construction where the preverb or sentence connective immediately followed by the infixed pronoun stands at the head of the sentence.<sup>2</sup> Thus in a minimal sentence consisting of preverb, object pronoun and verb, the verb would stand directly after the infixed pronoun in a tmesis sentence pattern, in this case the compound verb.

This initial position of the Celtic verb has been a vexed question as it is so bound up with the absolute and conjunct flexions and their distribution (see p. 3 ). Vendryes (MSL 17.337) recognised that the initial deuterotonic compound verb in Old Irish could have been so placed in its sentence due to the position required for its infixed object pronoun according to Wackernagel's Law; the simple verb would have come to stand at the head of the clause by analogy.

<sup>1</sup>Meid, op.cit. p. 127; Watkins, op. cit. p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Meid, 127-9; Watkins, ibid. 6-7.



Dillon (Language 19. 252) enlarging upon Pedersen's theory of the origin of the absolute endings in a suffixed pronominal element \*is' (VEK ii 340) proposed that the finite verb in Old Irish and Old Welsh contained an affixed or infixed subject pronoun '\*is' in all persons singular and plural. In this event the simple verb with its enclitic pronoun would occur in initial position as well as the compound verb. Pokorny (Die Sprache 5. 154) ascribes the initial position of the verb to the presence of a pre-Indo-European substratum.

The \*is' theory would have the merit of explaining the absence of lenition of the initial consonant in a compound verb after preverbs originally ending in a vowel. Watkins (Celtica 6. 41-42) rejects the '\*is' for four reasons: (1) The Hittite material used as parallel illustrative data would have to show universal distribution of enclitic subject pronouns in order to supply the Old Irish prerequisites, (2) the theory of an enclitic subject does not explain why Old Irish compound verbs have IE secondary endings, (3) the absence of lenition after the first preverb merely indicates that the preverb and what immediately follows were originally separated, and (4) the alleged presencese of an enclitic \*is' leads to "phonological dead ends" as for instance in verbs beginning with a vowel. Meid<sup>1</sup> does not reject the '\*is' element out of hand, while agreeing that the Hittite evidence is not fully valid; he cites the spirant mutation in the Brythonic compound which is most probably the reflex of an 's', which could have come from the replacement in Common Celtic, of the simple negative particle from \*ne', by the ON ni, OW ny from \*ne est; the analogical spread of juncture could thus be accounted for, in compound verbs.

Thus, Watkins and Meid are in agreement with regard to the initial position of the simple verb as an inherited IE phenomenon (see p. 5 ), but the compound verb with its hiatus after the first preverb, and deuterotonic accent, has to be fully explained. Watkins derives the deuterotonic accent from the lateness of the univerbation of tmesis types of sentences.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Meid, op. cit. p.136

<sup>2</sup>Celtica 6. 40

The fact that the stress is not on the first preverb in the compound means that the remainder of the verb was "a separate word at the time of the fixation of the initial stress in Irish." His argument is this: in tmesis the preverb was accented, and the rest of the verb at the end of the sentence was also accented. When these elements come together the preverb has secondary stress, the enclitic has no stress, and the primary accentuation is on the remainder of the verb. Hence, when no enclitic is present the accent of preverb plus remainder of verb "is simply subordinated to that of the fuller variant" with enclitic. He takes the presence of hiatus implied by non-lenition after vowels as a "zero infix", e.g. from the enclitic. Therefore, when the tmesis sentence pattern was discarded, the deuterotonic compound verb became the norm in initial position and the simple verb follows suit. The initial position of the simple verb was already possible and probably its ultimate fixing at the head of the sentence was helped by the fact that enclitics were exclusively in that position when present.<sup>1</sup> Probably then "the primary endings were systematically generalized with the simple verb in initial position in opposition to the utilization of the forms with secondary endings in the function of the imperative and responsive ... or alternatively a maximal differentiation of the form" with verb in initial position "in opposition to the older" form with the verb in final position.<sup>2</sup> The other old IE languages have the preverb separated from the remainder of the compound verb, and at a later stage these are compounded as in Vedic, Hittite, Homeric Greek, and Old Latin. The hinge on which the Irish evidence as demonstrated by Watkins rests is the immobility of the infixed pronoun and its superceding the suffixed pronoun (which is in a somewhat petrified state in the OI period<sup>3</sup>) as a verbal object. This entailed the employment of connectives such as no with simple verbs in initial position when an object pronoun occurred.

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<sup>1</sup>Celtica 6.41.

<sup>2</sup>ibid. 48.

<sup>3</sup>ibid. 39-40.

Meid likewise derives the use of deuterotonic forms from the forms with infixed pronouns.<sup>1</sup> He suggests that the compound forms were originally in initial and accented position and they are replaced there by deuterotonic forms in analogical recomposition.<sup>2</sup> The prototonic form reflects a period when the Celtic compound verb was stressed on the first element, and likewise the lenition of the initial after the first preverb indicates an original development. The imperative prototonic still reflects this position.<sup>3</sup> This prototonic form prevented the infixation of pronouns, for the preverbs underwent phonological changes and the juncture between the original preverb and verb initial was lost. This would have entailed new compound forms with accent on the verbal stem on the analogy of the simplex, thus deuterotonic forms. Further contributing factors would have been the accent situation when an already prototonic compound would become deuterotonic through the further addition of a preverb, e.g. ro saig 'reaches' and do roich (to ro saig) 'reaches' and perhaps not very probably through the influence of the position after the negative and conjunct particles, viz. ni tabair 'does not give' with the accent on the second syllable. Meid also states that the use of the prototonic in Bergin's Law is proof that the prototonic was the normal compound form for the verb at the earliest stage.

Meid in reviewing Watkins' material proposes that the sentence type with compound and infixed pronoun is of much older date and does not accept the univertation of tmesis as the origin of the deuterotonic form with its stress shift and juncture.<sup>4</sup> He repeats his derivation of the accent from the simplex and derives the juncture from an analogical hiatus based perhaps on negative forms as seen in the Welsh evidence (see p. 5 ).

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<sup>1</sup>op.cit. 129.

<sup>2</sup>ibid. 131 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Watkins takes imperatives and responsives in prototonic as inherited forms in initial position too, op.cit. 43.

<sup>4</sup>Meid, op.cit. 136.



However, with regard to the comparative data in five earlier IE languages including Old Irish as examined by Watkins<sup>1</sup>, the evidence shows for "the finite verb semantically compounded with a preverb, obligatory final position" of the verb itself with the preverb in either initial or prefinal position; this seems to show that the Old Irish compound verb in initial position is late, and as Vendryes discovered, based on the operation of Wackernagel's Law<sup>2</sup>. As for the imperative prototonic forms, these are the result of the later grammaticalisation of this mood from the discarded secondary forms of the indicative (see p. 5).

#### Inverted Emphatic Construction

In order to emphasise a particular word in the sentence, this word is placed after the copula with the rest of the sentence taking the form of a relative clause (OIG 513). When the finite verb requires emphasis<sup>3</sup> the "iterative-durative" consisting of the substantive verb plus oc plus verbal noun is used with the verbal noun group immediately after the copula, and the substantive verb follows, e.g. is oc precept soscéli attó 'it is preaching the gospel that I am' Wb 21 c 19. As has been pointed out in the previous chapter other IE languages emphasise the verb by placing it in initial position in the sentence. This emphasis of the subject or direct object in inverted construction with the copula occurs in all the texts:

- CG is é remibí boairechaib 'it is he who is before cow-aires' 248  
 Wb ba miscuis atroilliset 'it was hatred they deserved 4c4  
 Ml combad sechmadachtae no beth and 'that it were a preterite should be there 27 b 1  
 VT bid misi bendachfas caille fora cend 'it will be myself who shall consecrate the veil upon her head' 1963  
 LL is maith nach cualammar 7 nach fetammar 'it is a good we did not hear of and we did not know' 7557  
 PH is tu ro-fhoid in tenid 'it is you that sent the fire' 1410

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<sup>1</sup>Watkins, "Preliminaries to the Reconstruction of Indo-European Sentence structure," Proc. of the ninth Intern. Cong. of Ling. Cam., Mass., 1962 Mouton & Co. 1964 p.1036, see esp. p.1041. The languages which he uses to illustrate IE syntax are Vedic, Hittite, Greek, Latin and Old Irish. Re Confirmatory evidence in Iranian, Baltic, Slavic and Germanic see his remarks p. 1042

<sup>2</sup>Bergin, Ériu 12. 197 had noted also that by a rearrangement of the words a sentence with tmesis would give normal Old Irish syntax.

<sup>3</sup>Watkins, Celtica 6, 5-6

- AS is terc sét maith a nEirinn nár brec shum a dúnaid 'it is the rare goodly treasure in Ireland which she did not entice to her fortress' 752
- SBC nach buaidhredh coiri na pecaídh do bi uire 'that it is not the worry of the guilt of sin that was upon her' 231
- BC as se bendeochus an talam bud tuaid 'it is he who will bless the land to the north' p. 12, 1.36
- TBB is é an bás so do taisbéanadh i riocht reithe do Daniel fáidh 'it is this death which was shown in the guise of a ram to the prophet Daniel' 16
- PB is maoin spioradálta ghuidios an cúlchainteach 'it is a treasure of the spirit which the detractor steals' 1821
- SB is tu ta bhuan 'it is you that I want' p. 78, 1.21 (with elision phonetically)
- EM is iad nach ndéanadh faillighe ar chúis na Gaedhilge 'it is they who used not neglect the cause of the Irish language' p. 43, 1.32
- GG ba é a bhí go dúthrachtach 'it was he who was zealous..' p.34, 1.32

#### Inverted Construction with Copula Omitted

A separate relative clause is formed by the remainder of the sentence even when the copula is omitted before the emphasised element (OIG 513); it may be seen from the following examples that this holds good down to the modern period:

- CG ocht cumala aragellat a fholog '(it is) eight cumals that take the place of his sick maintenance' 468
- EB tol cholno forchanat '(it is) the will of the flesh that they teach' 20 c 20
- ML aingil dae bete oc comet ind fír fírión '(it is) the angels of God who will be engaged in guarding the righteous man' 112 b 20
- VT Oen didu dina ruithnib..ro fhaíd grian na fírinde isin domun '(it is) one of the rays indeed which the Sun of Truth sent into the world' 72
- LL daglaech de Ultaib bíis ic foraire '(it is) a goodly warrior of the Ulstermen who is wont to be keeping guard' 8547
- PH Dia ro-chuir chucam-sa iat '(it is) God that sent them to me' 441



- AS ar n-athair fein ro fhogair a Tuathaib De Danann sind '(it is) our own father who outlawed us from the Tuatha De Danann' 2727
- SBC docredimh fein do slanaigh tu '(it is) your own faith that healed you' 1781
- BC mogenar bias do reir Patraic '(it is) a lucky man<sup>1</sup> who is in conformity with Patrick' p. 114, l. 24.
- TBB an truime cheadna pheine mhothochas ann '(it is) the same weight of pain that he shall experience there' 6476.
- PB tri neithe dhibreas an bhladuireacht o dhuine '(there are) three things which banish flattery from a man' 1547.
- SB mo leasmhathir a chuir an druiocht so oram '(it was) my step-mother that placed this enchantment on me' p. 73, l. 35.
- EM Droichead Ui Chonaill a tugtar air '(it is) O'Connell Bridge that it is called ' p. 14, l. 29.
- GG Sean-bhean dheileoir a bhi i sean Bhrighid '(it is) a pitiful old woman that Old Brigid was' p. 3, l. 1.

#### Inverted Construction when the Emphasised Word is in Indirect Relation

When the word to be emphasised is neither the subject or the direct object of the following verb in Old Irish the remainder of the sentence is non-relative. However, in the Middle Irish period this is not the case and the relative appears in such circumstances in VT beside the older form, and becomes obligatory, as is still the case in the modern dialects. This is shown by these examples:

- CG is airi ni comrai insci 'it is for this reason he cannot preserve statement' 34.
- Wb is i Crist beimmi 'it is in Christ we shall be' 21 b 7.
- ML is airi ni rufeidligsemarni indib 'it is for this reason we have not continued in them' 105 a 4.
- VT is airi ni hairdeiroc in Fergne 'it is for this reason that Fergus is not renowned' 855
- is ar deseirce na pridchaim-si desheiroc 'it is for the Love of God, that I do not preach the Love of God' 2878.

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<sup>1</sup> Mogenar has lost its verbal content as may be seen from the use with the copula in corab mogenair in BC p. 74, l. 42.



- LL ní fair bias a nós 'it is not on him that its fame will be' 9637.
- PH is aire ro ngabais, a Isu, doenacht 'it is for this reason that you assumed, O Jesus, humanity' 175.
- AS is ann bhís 'it is there that he is wont to be' 1889.
- SBC is dimsa fein labrus se 'it is of myself that he speaks' 1464.
- BC gonadh aire sin nach mothaigedh se 'that it is for this reason that he used not feel' p.4, l.29.
- TBB gurab orra sin amhain bhíos a chóir 'that it is on them alone that its jurisdiction is' 754.
- PB as ó na fearaibh thig moraoideacht 7 onóir chugainn 'it is from the men that dignity and honour come to us' 459.
- SB ní mar sin a bhíon an scéal 'it is not like that, that the story is wont to be'
- EM ní ar rothar atá se ag imtheacht 'it is not on a bicycle that he is travelling' p.33, l.24.
- GG gur as sin a fuair sé an t-ainm 'that it is from that, that he got the name' p.27, l.4.

#### Omission of the Verb

The finite verb may be unexpressed in certain sentences and phrases.<sup>1</sup> These include (a) descriptions, and (b) commands to which category may be added wishes and maledictions. All these seem to have something of a peremptory and urgent connotation and it has been difficult to find them in the more philosophical works, i.e. TBB and PB. Examples:

#### Descriptions

- LL cach drong imma rí. cech réim imma muirech 7 cech buiden imma tuisech. Cach rí 7 cach rí domna d'fheraib Herend ina thulaig fo leith 'every band around their king. every rank about their commander. every king and every heir-apparent of the men of Ireland on his own hill' 7922.
- AS brat corera uime, dealg óir isin bhrut, (léine d) o shída bhuidi re grian a chnis, urtlach do chnóibh corra cennbhuidi 7 d'ubluibh áille órbhuidhi leis 'a purple cloak around him, a gold pin in the cloak, a tunic of yellow silk to his skin, a cluster of round yellow-tipped nuts and of beautiful golden yellow apples with him' 470.

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<sup>1</sup> OIG 512; J. Baudiš, ZCP IX 312 ff.

- SB ó mo bhrón, Dún na gCannrion fé bhár lasrach 'Oh my sorrow!  
D. under a sheet of flames' p. 69, l. 28.<sup>1</sup>
- EM bóirdín beag idir a dhá ghlún aige agus é ag scríobhadh cúntais  
'a small table between his knees and he writing an account'  
p. 58, l. 17.
- GG Amach le Eoghainín, agus an curach ag éirí agus ag titim mar  
bheadh sliogán ann . . .<sup>2</sup> 'out with E. and the boat rising  
and falling as though it were a shell' p. 49, l. 13.

Commands, Wishes, etc.

- VT in carputt taris! '(drive) the chariot over it!' 1927.
- LL eolas dún a úasail '(give) knowledge to us, sir' 7681.
- PH impód fort culu coléic 'turn back, meanwhile' 8218.
- AS proinn deich cét óclach dho '(give) him the refecton of ten  
hundred warriors' 2308.
- SBC ~~a Philaid, a Philaid, tusa do certachadh an Tigherna~~ 'Pilate!  
~~Pilate! you, castigate the Lord!~~ 3799.
- TBB<sup>3</sup>
- SB mhuise, dhá léan er do shláinte 'Indeed, two plagues on your  
health!' p. 34, l. 12.
- EM Dia idir sinn is an anachain 'God between us and misfortune'  
p. 70, l. 34.
- GG buíochas agus céad duit 'a hundred and one thanks to you'  
p. 97, l. 34.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps better with type (b) due to the interjectory nature of this phrase.

<sup>2</sup> This example continues throughout fourteen lines of the text, with two more sentences of this type: Amach . . . followed by verbal noun phrase with agus . . . ag.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps one might also include here sentences of the type: an céid-ní a gcroidhe do thabhairt do Dhia. 'the first thing, they should give their heart to God' TBB 2189 (a command in reality), where a nominal sentence has its subject in a verbal noun phrase immediately following the predicate. See also PB an chéad mí gan iad do dhéanamh 'the first thing, not to do them' 803.

## CHAPTER III

Agreement of Verb with Subject

In Old Irish the verb agrees with its subject in number. The following examples illustrate that in the case of a noun subject, this is so until after PB; a singular verb is found with a plural noun subject in the modern texts. The excerpted sentences illustrate main clauses having a singular and a plural noun subject respectively:

- CG atá dano sechtmonaíl i córus rí 'there is moreover a weekly order in the duties of a king' 542.  
dligit firfhlaithi forcraid 'true nobles are entitled to a surplus' 272.
- Wb ro cluinethar cách in fogur 'everyone hears the sound' 12 c 22.  
biit sualachí and it foilsí 'there are virtues there that are manifest' 29 a 29.
- ML ní-m-rabae soirad etir 'there was no deliverance for me at all' 73 c 5.  
ní recat greic les tintuda doib 'the Greeks do not need a translation for them' 3 a 14.
- VT ro obbai Fiacha bathis úad 'F. refused baptism from him' 874.  
dorigensat tra in druíd conflucht fri Pátraic 'the druids indeed brought about a controversy with Patrick' 1153.
- LL tánic in mac tanaise immach arin faidchí 'the second son came out on the lawn' 8660.  
tancatar mathi Herend connici in corthi 'the nobles of Ireland came as far as the pillar' 8035.
- AS ticeadh an inghen linn 'let the maiden come with us' 826.  
atconncadur da cuiced Muman bás na hingine '(the men of) the two provinces of Munster saw the death of the maiden' 2995.
- SBC adubairt Gaibrial ris in oigh . . . 'Gabriel said to the Virgin' 227.  
do imdighidur daine mora an baile uadha 'the notabilities of the town left Him' 3656.
- BC do thuig Colaim cilli an briathar 'Columba understood the word' p. 4, l. 3.



- BC do ghabhtar muindter C.C. an t-oclach 'C.C.'s followers took the youth' p. 102, l. 12.
- TBB ní éisteann Dia ris na peachtachaibh 'God does not listen to sinners' 4522.
- tiocfaid na mallachta so uile ort 'all these maledictions will come upon you' 9161.
- PB ciorróig Dia dream na fallsóireachta 'God will cut down those who lie' 1872.
- tárladar na baintiagharnaidhe . . . se ar a chéile 'these ladies came together' 251.
- SB do tháinig gach duine abhaile 'every person came home' p. 23, l. 20.
- bhí na buachaillí ag fair' uirthi 'the boys were watching her' p. 6, l. 29.
- EM thosuigh an biadh ag daoirsiú 'food began to get expensive' p. 48, l. 31.
- tá na sean-daoine ar fad beagnach i ndon an Bíobla a léigheadh 'almost all the old people can read the Bible' p. 31, l. 32.
- GG níor chuir duine ar bith sonrú ansin 'nobody at all paid any attention to that' p. 5, l. 9.
- ní fhaca na mná riamh a dhath ní ba chaintí . . . é 'the women had never seen him more talkative' p. 26, l. 29.

When the subject is a pronoun, the exact stage at which a singular verb is used with a plural pronoun in an analytic verbal form is difficult to determine, since a study of the separate tenses would be required. TBB shows such a form in the preterite third plural below. The verb with pronoun subject is represented by two kinds of verbal form: (1) the synthetic, with the pronoun person and number understood from the ending, e.g. the Old Irish usage, and (2) the analytic, where the subject pronoun follows the form of the third person singular of the verb. In the third plural, forms are found with the third plural synthetic verbal form along with the plural pronoun (3); some of these have been noted in SBC<sup>1</sup> but they are not in the texts after PB.

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<sup>1</sup>Éigse V 220 for examples in relative clauses only; SBC 4017, 4251, as noted by Rev. C. Mooney; in main clauses, do threigidur each uile he 4597; for instances of this in West Munster with the present, future and occasionally preterite see IDPP, p. 230.

Examples of these types follow:

- CG (1) snáidid a chomgrád 'he protects his peer' 205.  
 (1) acht atndaimet do thoisiuch 7 aurlabraid remib 'but they acknowledge him a chieftain and representative before them' 279.
- Wb (1) adcomla friu fessin in fecht so 'He joins Himself to them this time' 3 c 13.  
 (1) ni táircoet na aill 'they effect nothing else' 30 b 12.
- ML (1) du arbaid a noibi fadessin 'he showed his own sanctity' 46 d 15.  
 (1) ní derchoínfet a níc ho Dia 'they will not despair their salvation from God' 57 d 11.
- VT (1) fó fuair íasc ann 'he got fish there' 369.  
 (1) do dechatar tar Sinaind 'they went across the Shannon' 1040.
- LL (1) ní thibérsa trá . . . mo tharb 'I shall not give up my bull indeed' 7689.  
 (1) lotar isin dún iar tain 'they went into the fort after that' 8694.
- AS (1) tuc a chenn a n-ucht Patraic 'he put his head upon Patrick's breast' 5377.  
rotshuidetar ann 'they sat down there' 3444.
- SBC (1) guidim sib -si 'I pray ye' 1414.  
 (1) do leanadur é 'they followed Him' 2077.  
 (2) do sguir seisin o compais a mathar 'He ceased to comfort His Mother' 682.
- BC (1) and (2):  
do fagaib comarbada 7 minna uadha fen innta .i. do fagaib se Oissin Mac Cellaig a Cluain 'he left heirs and relics from himself there, that is, he left O. in C.' p.96, l.2.  
 (1) tancotar cugam go Durmhuig 'they came to me to Durrow' P. 90, l. 10.
- TBB (1) do thréig féin a uile mhaitheas talmhaidhe 'he relinquished all his worldly goods himself' 364.  
 (1) do-bheirid iad féin do bhaosradh 'they deliver themselves to foolishness' 3848.  
 (2) béaraidh mé liom a fhál súd 7 biaidh se foghlughthe 'I shall take with me his hedge and it shall be plundered' 1476.

- TBB (2) do dhruid siad go doirshibh an bháis 'they approached the doors of death' 1565.
- PB (1) ni fhaicionn annsa tslighe iad 'he does not see them on the way' 1609.
- (1) do chruinnigheadar an dara lá 'they assembled on the second day' 622.
- (2) ni admhuid siad guarab daoine sinn 'they do not acknowledge that we are people' 307.
- SB (1) diolfair go cruaig as 'you shall pay dearly for it' p.31, l.27.
- (1) beimid a'scarúint le chéilig 'we shall be parting from one another' p. 37, l. 30.
- (2) mhair sé blianta fada a mBleá Clia 'he lived long years in Dublin' p. 46, l. 46.
- EM (1) d'fhágas beannacht ag muinntir Roscomáin 'I bade farewell to the people of Roscommon' p. 87, l. 19.
- (2) ní bhfuair mise aon bhrabach 'I got no profit, myself' p. 40, l. 28.
- (2) tá siad ag déanamh go leor dochair 'they are doing enough harm' p. 36, l. 35.
- GG (2) chas sí an eochair sa ghlas 'she turned the key in the door' p. 16, l. 20.
- (2) d'eirigh siad ansin agus thug siad a n-aghaidh ar an tobar 'they got up then, and they turned towards the well' p. 28, l. 4.

For agreement of verb and antecedent in relative clauses, see p.163.



Voice

In Old Irish the Indo-European active voice is represented by its counterpart. The IE mediopassive is to be seen in the deponent flexion on the OI verb, and its usage is continued in the constructions with the impersonal and passive uses of the verb in Old Irish. Celtic shares with various other IE dialects a series of r-desinences which have mediopassive origins; these languages include Italic, Hittite and Tocharian (OIG 572). These r-endings are present in Old Irish in the deponent, impersonal and passive, and in the plural of the active suffixless, long vowel and t-preterites<sup>1</sup>.

The Deponent Verb

Intransitivity of meaning seems to have been the original mark of deponent verbs which in OI correspond to the r-forms in the languages mentioned above as well as to verbs with middle conjugation in Greek and Indo-Iranian, as for instance the idea 'to be born' in Tocharian 'dhat-masdhar, Latin nascor, Old Irish gainithir, Sanskrit jáyate<sup>2</sup>. Old Irish deponent verbs have not a corresponding active form from which it is semantically distinguished as in Skt. yájāti 'he sacrifices (for someone)' and yájāte 'he sacrifices on his own behalf'; the OI deponent forms have active meaning and have active conjugation in the imperfect indicative, the past subjunctive and the secondary future. The imperative contains both active and passive desinences. Deponents have the same forms as active verbs in the passive formation but when the deponent has r-endings and active meaning these do not always agree in form with the passive (OIG 572-6; 579; 587; 713).

The historical deponent is dying out in OI and has almost disappeared in Middle Irish as in the LL Táin<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>The OI preterite is a coalescence of the older aorist and perfect categories and it can be demonstrated that the preterite forms with r-endings are original perfects and that the t-preterite is an analogical formation from the sigmatic aorist based on those forms derived from an original perfect. (OIG OIG 699; 701; Watkins, Eriu XIX 25ff.

<sup>2</sup>J. Strachan, Contributions to the History of the Deponent Verb in Irish, TPS 1891-4 p. 444ff. See p. 537; Vendryes, Les Formes Verbales en -R, RC XXXIV p. 129ff. See p. 132.

<sup>3</sup>Strachan op.cit. p. 445; ;. 544; p. 551.

Strachan has observed that by the beginning of the 10th century the deponent flexion had disappeared in derivative -ig, -ag verbs.

#### Subsequent Distribution of Deponent Flexion in the Active Conjugation

1. s-preterite forms: Due to analogy with the strong verb preterite as well as to the confusion of active and deponent flexion, the s-preterite developed certain deponent endings which were current in Middle Irish, prior to the abandoning of the s-conjugation for that of the suffixless and t-preterite (i.e. in the plural). These s-formations are characterized by the endings: 3sg. -asta(i)r, -esta(i)ir, 1pl. -semma(i)r, 2pl. -sebair, -sabair, 3pl. -satar. With regard to the 3sg. ending in the selected texts, it may be noted that it is already found in the glosses. Strachan has noted three examples only - it occurs in VT, LL, PH, and AS; palatal endings do not occur in either LL or AS.<sup>1</sup> This is quite dead by the time of SBC, but one example occurs in the archaic section of BC. Although the 1pl. -semma(i)r form is first attested in 946 it does not occur in VT; there are two examples in LL and fourteen in AS.<sup>2</sup> The 2pl. -sebair is not in VT, two examples are found in LL and three in AS.<sup>3</sup> The 3pl. in -satar has been noted twice in VT and sixty-two forms are recorded in LL.<sup>4</sup> These endings have all been lost, of course, by the time of SBC.

2. Present Subjunctive forms: 1sg.: In the glosses the 1sg. present subjunctive in -ar, -er, -ur occurs only where one would expect the deponent flexion. Possibly based on the model of verbs like ad-cíu 'see' which though active in the present indicative formed its 1sg. pres. subj. in -accar, are the subsequent deponent forms found in this position with active verbs originally having the active a-subjunctive.

<sup>1</sup>Strachan, op.cit. 558; K. Mulchrone, "Die Abfassungszeit und Überlieferung der Vita Tripartita," ZCP XVII 411 ff.; see p. 69 of M. O'Daly, "The Verbal System of the LL Táin," Eriu XIV 31 ff., see p. 67; R. Numer, ZCP XXVII 230 ff., see p. 267; see Introd. BC p. xlix; see also S. O Cathain ZCP XIX p. 38 for further sources.

<sup>2</sup>For the first dateable example noted, see Corm. str. 7, 8.

<sup>3</sup>Eriu XIV 68; ZCP XXVII 268.

<sup>4</sup>ZCP p. 69, 70; Eriu XIV 67, see p. 68 for Mrs. O'Daly's observations of the use of the ending of the suffixless and t-preterite by some s-preterite forms.

The corresponding s-subjunctive of the 1sg. may have been influenced by a form such as -fessur 'I may know' which may likewise have influenced the vowel of the desinence, thus tíasur 'I may go'. The older ending -er, -ar generally became -ur<sup>1</sup> and apart from the substantive verb (which has béo 'I may be') in this position, this deponent form is the only form of the 1sg. present subjunctive until the period of the disintegration of classical written Irish. It occurs in VT and in all selected texts down to PB<sup>2</sup> in which one example occurs which may be a passive form, but the form in -(e)ad based on the future indicative is not found until the modern dialect texts.<sup>3</sup>

2 sg. form: This form in -ir was based presumably on the 1sg. form<sup>4</sup> and being more expressive it spread to the future and present indicative 2nd person singular flexion. Probably due to the influence of the emphasising -siu, the r was palatalised. This form is not allowed in the verse of the schools nor is it treated of in the grammatical tracts.

Other forms: It may be noted that Watkins<sup>5</sup> has pointed out some analogical formation in the case of the spread of the deponent preterite forms, such as the creation of rhyming forms -dámair 'admitted' after -lámar 'dared' (OIG 432). Mrs. O'Daly has noted various formations of the deponent perfect 3sg. in LL, e.g. forromair 'set, placed' from non-deponent fo-ruimi, etc.<sup>6</sup>

#### The Impersonal Construction and The Passive Voice

The r-endings of the Old Irish passive are not identical throughout with the deponent forms; the plural and the singular with a dental,

<sup>1</sup>TPS 1891-4, 562-3; Ériu XIV 43, 124.

<sup>2</sup>as noted by B. Ó Cuiv, PB p. 169.

<sup>3</sup>See G. Murphy, FEMIN p. 77, n. 15.

<sup>4</sup>TPS 1891-4, 565; FEMIN p. 81 where Murphy postulates various stages of this development.

<sup>5</sup>Watkins, "The Origin of the t-preterite," Ériu XIX p. 33, where he discusses the genesis of the deponent preterite and equates the -air 3sg. ending of the present passive absolute with 3sg. of this, and finds their counterpart in Hittite mediopassive 3sg. -ari.

<sup>6</sup>Ériu XIV 124.



e.g. mortair, morthar 'are, is praised' may have been modelled on the active.<sup>1</sup> There was no true passive voice in Indo-European. An impersonal mediopassive form, whether transitive or intransitive, could express the completion of the action as semantically conceived of in the verb itself, thus Latin itur 'one goes' with the parallel form tiagair in Old Irish, beside transitive berair 'one carries' and Umbrian ferar 'let one carry'.<sup>2</sup> When a "subject" is added to the transitive impersonal, there is evidence to show that this was originally considered the object of the impersonal, as in Ennius' vitam vivitur 'one lives life'. The Old Irish material furnishes further proof, in that the impersonal form of the verb is used with infixed object pronouns of the first and second persons singular and plural, in order to supply a passive for these persons: <sup>mainimim thabarthan</sup> ~~ar-nacait-rindar-pither~~ 'if I be surrounded' Ml 41 c 2. Vendryes has seen the continuation of this construction in examples which have a nominal "subject" in the accusative, as gairmthir chuire firu Rois 'one summons to him the men of R.' (RC IX 16.5). Gerard Murphy, on the other hand, argues that "the consistent use of the nominative in Old Irish forbids us understanding the sporadic Middle and Early Modern Irish accusative usage as a direct survival"; he ascribes this type to a confused understanding of the correct use of the accusative case, on the part of writers in Irish at the time that the accusative case as the direct object of active verbs was falling into disuse.<sup>3</sup> There is no doubt that the transition from infixed

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<sup>1</sup>See OIG 578-9; Vendryes, Celtica III p. 191; Lurylowicz, The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European pp. 66-7 for discussion of this matter.

<sup>2</sup>Vendryes, "Sur l'Emploi Impersonnel du Verbe," Celtica III 185 ff. See p. 188 where he suggests that the type with infixed pronoun was extended as a flexional form to the past; ro-b-clandad et ro-b-fothiged do sunt 'ye have been planted and ye have been founded for this'. See also p. 186 where he would amend examples containing a passive verb in the singular and a plural subject in the nominative to forms containing either a plural verb or a noun in the accusative. Presumably these examples are to be taken as evidence of the coalescence of the pl. and sg. passive forms into one form, the singular, which is used exclusively with nominative sg. and pl. subjects in the selected texts from SBC onwards.

<sup>3</sup>G. Murphy, Duanaire Finn III, p. cxviii, 'Impersonal accusative governing active use of Passive Verbal Forms'; O'Rahilly ascribes this to the analogy of the pronouns é, i, iad, which were accusatives and also nominatives of the copula. Desid. p. 247.

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object pronoun to independent object pronoun, as no-m-piantar 'I am tortured' PH 2317 and piannfaither thú 'you will be tortured' PH 296, continues to reflect the impersonal usage as inherited from the medio-passive.

In Old Irish where the impersonal construction was regularly felt to be a 3rd person passive, the word which had originally been the direct object of the impersonal became the subject of the passive<sup>1</sup> and is expressed in the nominative: amal carthar inducál 'as glory is loved'. The concept of a passive was strengthened by the creation of a form for the 3rd person plural which could have come about on the analogy of the preterite passive. The latter, due to the fact that its source was the IE verbal adjective in \*to, carried with it the distinction of number; as predicate of a nominal sentence it was felt to be a preterite passive, hence ro carad 'he was loved', ro cartha 'they were loved', and accordingly in the present a plural formation as in tan do ngniter dá salm 'when two psalms are performed' Ml 26 c 1. A brief selection of passives as occurring in the selected texts follows:

#### 1. With infixed pronouns

Wb nachib berar i smachtu rechta fetarlicce 'be ye not borne into the institutions of the Old Testament' 27 a 24.

Ml condansamailter fri cech ndodcadchai 'so that we are compared to every infelicity' 63 d 7.

VT ol rom chráided 'inasmuch as I have been tormented' 1327.

LL ra ngontarsom dano do cech aird 'he is wounded then, from every side' 11072.

PH is and side ro-m-adnaiced-sa fen 'it was there that I was buried myself' 1533.

#### 2. With independent pronouns

PH in dara mod le mbrister hi 'the second way in which it is broken' 7323.

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<sup>1</sup>Vendryes, RC XXXVIII, 347-8; Celtica III, p. 187.

- AS dobeirthea ar in leice sin hé 'he used to be placed on that flagstone' 7996.
- SBC is truagh don tí tre tinnluiother me 'it is (a) sad (day) for the man through whom I am betrayed' 3247.
- BC 7 gor bendaighed e 'and until it was blessed' p. 38, l. 22.
- TBB do bhríogh go sgarthar leo ó Dhia é 'because through them it is estranged from God' 1486.
- PB ní creidthior uaig í 'it is not believed from him' 1871.
- SB sara crochach é 'before he was hanged' p. 39, l. 16.
- EM do cuireadh ar athrú smaointe mé 'I was made to think again' p. 79, l. 7.
- GG b'annamh a gheofaí i measc na ngasúr eile é 'it was seldom that he would be found among the other boys' p. 51, l. 24.
3. With Singular Nouns
- Wb dogéntar aidchumtach tempuil less 'the rebuilding of the Temple will be effected by him' 26 a 8.
- Ml amal du-n-eclannar etach nderscaigthe hi tig cennaigi 'as a garment of surpassing excellence is sought out in the house of a merchant' 120 d 2.
- VT ro fothaiged im eclais forsin topur sin 'a church indeed was founded upon that well' 98.
- LL ra cruthaiged comairle occu 'counsel was devised by them' 8150.
- PH áitt mar hádnaiced nech riam có sin 'a place where no one had been buried before until then' 2917.
- AS annsin dorigned selg ... ag trí cathaib na Féinne 'then hunting was carried on by the three warrior-bands of the Fianna' 5845.
- SBC na marbthur mu Mhac libh 'let not my Son be killed by you' 3725.
- BC tugad lenabh becc dá baisted ouige 'a small child was taken to him to be baptised' p. 76, l. 35.



- TBB neimhtheas cuisneamhail na coire lé múchtar grís ghradha Dé  
'the icy chill of sin by which the glow of God's love is extinguished' 1706.
- PB déantar magadh faoi íoghmhá Dé 'a mockery is made of the image of God' 1737.
- SB mar níor brathach aení dá sórt 'for nothing of its kind was experienced'
- EM do bailigheadh tuairim is ceithre mhíle púnt i nGaillimh Thoir  
'about four thousand pounds was collected in East Galway'
- GG leis sin beireadh greim taobh thiar ar an chorp 'with that a hold was taken of the body from behind' p. 85, l. 7.

#### 4. With Plural Nouns, etc.

- Wb combi iarum coiscitir ind fir et do-airbertar fo réir Dás 'so that usually afterwards the husbands are corrected and reduced under God's will' 22 c 10.
- MI huare ro comallada inna imneda 'because the troubles have been fulfilled' 74 c 20.
- VT do bretha tri fáscri grotha dó 7 imm o l[á]namain iressaig  
'three curdcheeses and butter were brought to him by a faithful couple' 2918.
- LL ro gabait<sup>1</sup> a eich Fir Diad 'Ferdia's horses were caught' 10270.
- PH aroli doine imluadit ó démmaib 'other people who were agitated by devils' XIX 2593.
- AS ro siadhit trí liagána cloichi uimpe 'three pillars of stone were placed around it' 1173.  
Sg. verb with pl. pronoun: do h-adlaiced iad araen a n-aeinfhert  
'they were both buried in one grave' 866.

<sup>1</sup>A special Middle Ir. form of the pret. passive formed analogically on the use of the absolute 3pl. pres. indic. in -ait instead of the relative -ta as proposed by Murphy, FEMN, 80-1: casait for casta 'who twist, turn' and so ro casait for ro casta 'they were turned, etc.'. For distribution of this form see Strachan ZCP II 482; it is not in VT; 34 exx. in LL as opposed to 12 other types, see Ériu XIV 75; 15 in AS with 9 others, see ZCP XXVII 1 p. ; in the text of Cath Maige Léna (c.1275-1300) ed. K. Jackson, Dublin 1938, 17 exx. occur, see pp. xxiii-iv; Murphy, loc. cit. suggests it appeared first "c. 900 A.D. a century or so earlier than its first appearance in the literature." V. Hull, ZCP XXIV 126-7 cites 1300 as date for disappearance of this form.

No plural forms occur after AS. The absolute and conjunct forms are confused in LL and some examples occur of a singular verb with a plural subject.<sup>1</sup> AS presents a more confused situation.<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted from the small collection above that the agent or the instrument is expressed by a noun or a pronoun introduced by either the prepositions la 'with', ó 'from' and oc 'at'.<sup>3</sup>

#### Passive Usage with the Verbal Noun

Various constructions employing the verbal noun with the substantive verb and the prepositions ag, iar and le may have passive meaning. The examples with iar supply a perfect passive and express the state of the subject after an action has been experienced, as in the following:<sup>4</sup>

SBC do bi se ar n-a fhurtacht on aingil 'he had been helped (lit. 'was after his helping') by the angel' 3494.

TBB biaidh mé arnam shásadh 'I shall have been (lit. 'I shall be after my satisfying') satisfied' 3970 (translates satiabor)

This construction does not seem to be in PB. (See also Immediate Perfect p. 48).

The usage with ag is based on the same principle as that with iar: the subject of the substantive verb agrees in number and person with the possessive pronoun after either of these two prepositions; this possessive pronoun qualifies the verbal noun. The texts have not been examined<sup>5</sup> for this usage with ag, but cf. TBB ní beitte agá shéanadh (negandum non est) 'it is not to be denied' 4967; dá may be used instead of agá in this context, as in 'an uair bhios da chor amach 'when he is being put out' TBB 794. This construction supplies the passive of the periphrastic iterative construction described above/pp. 38-42.

below /

The construction where the substantive verb is followed by the subject, preceding le and the verbal noun may convey the meaning of possibility

<sup>1</sup>Ériu XIV 46, 48, 52, etc.

<sup>2</sup>ZCP XXVII 269 ff.

<sup>3</sup>This has been noted in the case of SBC by Rev. Canice Mooney, Éigse V p. 220 where he cites some examples of these.

<sup>4</sup>See also Gagnepain op.cit. p.266 for other exx. from Keating and Desid.

<sup>5</sup>But ibid. p. 253 for these and other examples.

as well as that of a gerund in Latin. (See Prospective Aspect in Periphrasis, p. 50.) This does not seem to occur with a transitive verb in TBB, but the later texts all furnish examples:

PB ar an leabhar ... atā le taisbēanadh 'on the book which can (lit. 'is to') be shown' 133.

EM Ní'l le déanamh i n-áit mar seo, acht féachaint le na h-aithbeochain 'there is nothing to be done in a place like this, save to try to revive it' p. 25, l. 22.

SB ní raibh an capal le fáil aige (lit. 'the horse was not to be got by him') 'he could not get the horse' p. 7, l. 20.

GG cé acu atá aon duine le cailleadh 'whether anyone is going to be lost' p. 48, l. 25.

#### Periphrastic Passive with the Verbal Adjective

As has been already noted (p. 28), the IE verbal adjective in \*to supplied the passive of the preterite in Old Irish. When the Old Irish verbal adjective is used predicatively it is found with the copula, and very rarely with the substantive verb.<sup>1</sup> For examples of this, see Past Participle Passive, p. 107. For the construction with the verbal adjective which is syntactically passive and semantically a perfect, see p. 47.

#### Impersonal Non-passive Usage

Old Irish possesses an impersonal which does not employ mediopassive r-endings exclusively; this construction does not have a subject, but its object is in the accusative case and it corresponds to the Latin use of verbs with affective meaning in this manner, e.g. dolet 'it grieves', 'pudet' 'it shames', etc. One Latin verb madeo 'brims over' has an exact parallel, as Vendryes<sup>2</sup> has pointed out, in the OI maidid 'break upon, irrupt': in tan rommemaide re nabracham forsna coic riga 'when Abraham had routed the five kings' (lit. 'it broke by A. upon the ... kings') MI 127 d 6. Other verbs which may be used in this manner include

<sup>1</sup>See ÉC III 272.

<sup>2</sup>Vendryes, *Celtica* III 193 ff. One might note his interpretation (p. 195 *ibid.*) of constructions such as cingthi < cingid-i, normally to be taken as cingid-i 'he goes it, he goes a-going' or 'he goes to it, he goes to a place'; Vendryes considers the pronoun object as the subject of the verb in view of the meaning of do-t-luid 'you have come' LL 13161 (*Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó*).



fo-ceird 'sets, puts', fo-gní 'serves', feraid 'gives forth' as in ferais snechta mór foraiib 'it snowed a great snow on them' LU 4777.

A double accusative occurs with verbs such as ásaid 'grows' and gaibid 'takes': ro as gnoe moir in n-ingin sin 'that maiden grew in great beauty' LU 31/1; ro gab etere moir 7 drochmenmain in n-ingin 'great regret and sadness seized the maiden' LU 3957. 6/

### Logical Subject in Impersonal Construction<sup>1</sup>

1. The logical subject of an impersonal verb is expressed by the preposition do as in tic dí co aos togai 'she comes to the age of choice' Ir. Recht p. 8, par. 9.

2. When the impersonal expresses an ardent or impulsive action, the preposition imm is used with the subject: daistir immon mboin 'the cow is frenzied' VT 154.

3. When mutuality is to be indicated, the impersonal is preceded by the preverb imme with the preposition do governing the logical plural subject which may be a noun or pronoun: arná 'mmacomba doib 'that there be not mutual destruction to them'<sup>2</sup> CG 519; immo-fobair doib isin glinn 'they attack one another in the glen' IT II 184, l. 254.

4. When there are two logical subjects the older construction introduces the first one with do and the second one with fri: immanarnic dosom frisin Liath Macha 'he and the Grey of Macha meet' LU 8458.

5. The second type with two logical subjects is found introducing both of them with do: imma comairnic di Luch 7 di Balor 'Lug and Balor met one another' The Second Battle of Moytura, par. 133.

6. A third type with the first subject preceded by do and the second by ocus is also found: occus connach immaicced dó 7 a ingen co bráth 'and so that he and his daughter might never see one another' LL 286 bw.

### Some Examples of do-gní with Impersonal Usage

The verb do-gní 'do' when used impersonally may have the meaning 'become',<sup>3</sup> a usage still retained in modern Irish.

LL co nderna trom chiaich ... do 'so that it became a heavy mist' 5059.

SBC do rinde aen-nech de fein ocus do Dia 'He became one person with God' (see 6. supra) 95.

SB do dhéin oganach breá fir dho 'he became a fine young man' p.5, l.46.

<sup>1</sup>Sources of 1 and 2, Vendryes op.cit. 192, 194; M. O'Brien, Eriu XXII 242 for others. 21

<sup>2</sup>See as noted in the glossary under con-boing, by D.A. Binchy, CG p. 47.

<sup>3</sup>Dillon, ZCP XVI, 351.

## CHAPTER V

Aspect

Aspect may be defined as a category indicating whether the action or state denoted by the verbal action is viewed as completed, or in progress, as instantaneous or enduring, as momentary or habitual, and so on. Differing aspects are distinguished in the various languages by prefixes, suffixes, and infixes, by phonetic changes of the verbal root, by the use of auxiliaries, etc. It is impossible to classify all the types of aspect as they vary from one language to another; as with every other idea of grammar, aspect is defined by opposition.

The following terms may be used to denote the more common aspectual oppositions<sup>1</sup>: punctual or instantaneous, of action considered at one ideal point of its duration, in contrast to durative denoting a process which goes on for a length of time; perfective to indicate that an action has been carried out, a concept opposed by imperfective; determined designating that the action is taken at some special point of its duration; thus viewed initially it is called inchoative, while the definition terminative is used when the end of the development of the process is in question, and of course the punctual aspect is another variant of the determined - with its indetermined opposition, which describes a durative action, when this is considered as indefinite with regard to beginning or end. Iterative aspect indicates repeated or frequent action. From this, it may be seen that one aspect does not preclude another, and that one verbal form may contain more than one aspect, each one belonging to different sets of oppositions.

The basis of the IE verbal complex was aspectual contrast.<sup>2</sup> The separate present and aorist formations were not to indicate a difference of time or tense but one of aspect.<sup>3</sup> The present denoted that the action of the verb was viewed as in progress, in the course of its development, while the aorist expressed the action pure and simple; thus the present had durative and the aorist punctual aspect. Accordingly the present

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<sup>1</sup>Marie-Louise Sjoestedt, Études Celtiques III, p. 105 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Jerzy Kurylowicz, The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European, Heidelberg 1964, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup>A. Meillet, Étude Comparative des Langues Indo-européennes, Paris 1903; see pp. 218-9 for exx. from Greek, etc.



could be depicted by a line and the aorist by a point. The perfect expressed state in Indo-European and contained at the same time something of a present and a past; as opposed to the punctual aorist it may be symbolised as a line, and in contrast to the linear durative present it defines a state which presupposes a punctual or perfective process or action.<sup>1</sup>

Meillet distinguishes various aspects in the different present formations of IE languages.<sup>2</sup> These include intensives with reduplication and zero-suffix, Sanskrit dediste 'shows'; causatives and iteratives in -eye- or -i-(-i-) and root vowel o, Old Irish guirim 'I warm'; inchoatives containing nasal infix categories, Sanskrit bhánákti 'breaks' beside bhájáti 'shares'; and at a later period roots in -ske-, cf. Skt. janati, Gothic kunnan and Latin (g)nosco 'know'. The Celtic evidence has been studied by M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval with specific treatment of Old Irish iterative-causatives and formations with nasal affixes.<sup>3</sup> She concludes that the distinctions of aspect between the different present forms are no longer present except in vestigial examples: thus IE men: 'think, know, learn' gives OI non-causative main 'think' and o-grade mún 'teach' as its causative form; OI guid 'pray, entreat' opposes Welsh gweddi 'prayer' without o-grade; luig 'lay' in contrast to laig 'lie'; tuig 'cover' in opposition to Latin tegere 'protect', and so on.<sup>4</sup> With reference to the presents with a nasal, she has examined them in great detail and considers that in Celtic they are all ascribable to determined aspect.

This determined category may be inchoative in roots denoting an intellectual or sensory process, as in cluin 'hear', smuain 'think'; punctual or instantaneous in roots signifying a physical act such as walking, breaking, taking, thus cing 'walk', ling 'jump', ben 'strike'; dlong 'cleave', tlen 'steal', ren 'sell'; terminative in roots expressing the idea of swallowing, disappearing, turning around, so sluc (with n lost) 'swallow', fill 'turn', airchrin 'perish', atbail

<sup>1</sup>Kurylowicz, op.cit. p.95; see also Meillet, op.cit. p.175

<sup>2</sup>Meillet, op.cit. pp. 176; 180-1, 186, 190.

<sup>3</sup>M.L. Sjoestedt, Les Iteratifs-causatifs dans les Langues Celtiques, Mélanges Vendryes, Paris, 1925, 323-40

<sup>4</sup>op. cit. pp. 326-7



(< in) 'die'.<sup>1</sup> This variation of determined aspect is possible in the same root according to context, and this suggests a possible explanation to Mme. Sjoestedt-Jonval for the divergence of aspect in nasal-infix verbs in IE languages. In Old Irish the nasal formations retain important traces of their determined aspect, and the verbs opposing them are iteratives in cases like buig:bong 'break', brúi 'crush':bronn 'destroy', but in general the iterative is confused with the non-iterative present where this present exists.<sup>2</sup>

Kurylowicz, on the other hand, sees in the various present types evidence for an aspectual opposition within the present, between the indetermined or general present and an imperfective iterative present, although the historical IE languages (Sanskrit, Greek and Latin) do not make this distinction as such.<sup>3</sup> Thus whenever the present lost its durative aspect due to acquiring some additional aspectual mark such as punctuality from the presence of a preverb or some other factor which would limit the verbal action to a unique point in time, a new iterative derived form moved into the durative function and replaced it as such. Accordingly he takes the various kinds of present as "successive chronological layers of original iterative formations which replaced the older types", first in their secondary imperfective function, and later in their primary function as indetermined general presents.<sup>4</sup> Depending on whether the secondary function of the old present is punctual or stative (as in verbs of action and of state, respectively), the new form in opposition to this function is durative-linear in the one case and inchoative in the second.<sup>5</sup>

Kurylowicz thus considers the nasal-affix categories as derivatives which were once originally in aspectual contrast to verbs of action or state, and thereby furnished durative and inchoative presents.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>M.L. Sjoestedt, L'Aspect Verbal et les Formations à Affixe Nasal en Celtique, Paris 1926, passim. See esp. pp. 70-146.

<sup>2</sup>Mél. Vend. pp. 330-1.

<sup>3</sup>Kurylowicz, op.cit. pp. 94-5.

<sup>4</sup>Kurylowicz, op. cit. p. 98.

<sup>5</sup>ibid. p. 106    <sup>6</sup>ibid. p. 108.

The Old Irish material could bear out this idea: the replacement of the general present of indetermined aspect by c-grade iteratives with \*yo/i- suffix is attested by forms such as guidid < \*goditi 'prays'. The fact that this is a relatively rare phenomenon may be explained by the early change in verbs like luig- < \*log-yo/i 'lay' from an iterative to a causative transitive meaning.<sup>1</sup> However, this opposition is quite clear in the two present formations of the substantive verb; iterative bíid 'is wont to be' and general -tá 'is'. When it is seen that Mm. Sjoestedt-Jonval's conclusions invest the nasal-affix categories with a determined function as opposed to an indetermined aspectual present, it is not impossible to reconcile her findings with Kurylowicz's theory.<sup>2</sup>

This pattern of the formal renewal of the present with imperfective aspect is brought about in Greek, Latin, and Slavic by means of periphrasis with the present participle or by derivatives semantically bound up with it. This comes from the combination of durativity and simultaneity in the present participle; Spanish está leyendo, English 'he is reading.'<sup>3</sup> The new verbal forms in Middle Irish based on the verbal noun seem to fit in with Kurylowicz's "derivatives semantically related" to the present participle, as for instance OI ren- MI rec 'sells', OI fris-ben MI frepthanaigidir 'heals' where the OI forms are nasal-affix formations; OI maid- MI madm- 'break, defeat', OI nasc- MI naidm- 'bind' (an old \*ske-form), and so on.<sup>4</sup> This pattern is particularly apt as a parallel for the Irish periphrastic iterative which is present all through the history of the Irish language; this is the phrase made up of the substantive verb followed by the preposition oc preceding and governing the verbal noun, ató oc combáig friss 'I am contending with Him' Wb 26 d 17.

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<sup>1</sup>Watkins, IEOCV 120-1.

<sup>2</sup>M.L. Sjoestedt, L'Asp. Verb. et les Form. à Aff. Nas. en Celt., 199 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Kurylowicz, op.cit. 97.

<sup>4</sup>Contrib. for these examples taken at random.



The verbal noun, of its nature durative when in use with oc 'at' acquires contemporaneity, and thus becomes the counterpart of a present participle or Latin gerundive<sup>1</sup>. The aspect of the substantive verb itself being imperfective-linear-durative, it easily lends itself to this usage with the verbal noun.

Imperfective Aspect: Periphrastic Iterative Construction

The present category, because of the duality of the substantive verb within the present itself, presents two periphrastic iteratives one with -tá which has simultaneous connotation, and the other with bíid expressing habituality. This repartition has been found in all the selected texts, and it has been carried over into Anglo-Irish as shown by Henry; He is hitting | He bees hitting, corresponding respectively to the -tá bíid opposition<sup>2</sup>. Some examples follow:

- CG biit a trí oca díunuch 'three are wont to be cleansing it' 308
- Wb ataat oc timthirecht apastolorum dei 'they are serving the apostles of God' 14 a 30  
in tain no mbíu oc irbaig airib 'when I am wont to be glorying for you' 20 a 3
- ML contall a chenn dind aithiuch labar fil oc du dibirciud 7 oc du chaned 'that I may take his head off the proud vassal who is pelting and reviling thee' 58 c 6  
both bec i mbíther ó(c) comét ubull 'a little hut in which men are wont to be a-guarding apples' 100 c 21
- VT atáitt fon indas sin ic comardugud ind ferta 'thus they are raising the mound' 1014
- LL itúsa ém ar in gilla oc boing na fertas carpait 'Indeed 'said the lad' I am cutting the shafts for the chariot' 8773  
daglaech de Ultaib bis ic foraire 7 ic forcomét 'A champion of the Ulstermen who is wont to be watching and guarding' 8547
- PH atat-sen oc ar loscad 'they are burning us' 2207  
bim-si, or Michel, ic attach in choimded do-gres 'I' said Michael 'am always imploring the Lord' 6393
- AS atú secht mbliadna ac foghail ocus ac dibfeirg ort 'I am seven years pillaging and plundering you' p. 173, l.8 (S.G.)  
ind uair bid macraid in tshida oc imain 'when the youths of the fairy-mound are wont to be hurling' 7046

<sup>1</sup> Sjoestedt, Études Celtiques III 263-4

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Henry, An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon, Dublin n.d. 176 to these semelfactive and iterative forms he adds a third frequentative.



- SBC Cia ata agut brath a Tigherna? 'Who is betraying Thee, Lord?' 3256  
ar na dainibh...bis aga pianadh don tribloid 'on the people who  
are being troubled by tribulation' 6087
- BC ata Colam cilli ga dherbadh sin 'Columba is bearing witness to  
that' p. 14, l. 13
- TBB reacht im ballaibh ata ag cur i n-aghaidh no ag cathughadh re  
reacht mh'intinne 'a law in my limbs which is obstructing and  
contending with the law of my mind' 3354  
is follus gurab luaithe bhios an bas ag cur na ndaoine fa ghreim  
'it is clear that it is more swiftly, that death is wont to be  
grasping people' 7619
- PB ata [ag] cosnamh coimhthionoil na ndaoine 'which is protecting  
human society' 2081.  
Bid siad ag teagasg 7 a'treorughadh an phobail 'They are wont  
to be teaching and guiding the people' 2294
- SB go bhfuil Duine a'feachaint ort a gan-fhios duit 'that unknown  
to you, Someone is looking at you' p. 59, l. 41
- EM Ta siad ag deanamh go leor dochair 'They are doing enough harm'  
p. 36, l. 35  
mar gheall ar dhaoineibh peacamhla na haimsire seo a bhios 'gha  
bhfiadhach 'because of sinful people of this age who are wont  
to be hunting them' p. 44, l. 6.
- GG Ta me ag gabhail isteach chugat 'I am going into you' p. 11, l. 19  
an t-iolar a bhios ag iomramh ar an aer 'the eagle that is wont  
to be beating the air' p. 90, l. 31

This construction has been commented upon by Fraser, Wagner and Henry, and examined in detail by Mme. Sjoestedt-Jonval<sup>1</sup>. With regard to the terminology used by the three last mentioned scholars, Wagner calls the -ta sentence a durative present with the actuality as objective aspect (Aktionsart: aktuell); Henry calls it "introspective imperfective" in one series and "semelfactive durative" in another; Mme. Sjoestedt-Jonval terms it a present of actuality expressing an action in progress, and in it she sees a cursive aspect, which refers to an intermediate point in the action expressed. The second type with biid, Wagner takes as a durative present with habituality and actuality as objective aspect (Aktionsart: aktuell-habitativ); Henry who does not cite Irish in this case but Anglo-Irish uses the name "iterative durative" and Mme. Sjoestedt-Jonval considers it as an iterative cursive form.

<sup>1</sup>John Fraser, ZCP 8.56; Heinrich Wagner, Das Verbum in den Sprachen der Britischen Inseln p. 23; Henry, op.cit. 176-8; M. L. Sjoestedt, Description d'un Parler Irelandais de Kerry, Paris, 1938 151-2; Études Celtiques III 264ff.

Periphrastic Iterative in Past Tenses

This construction in use with the preterite and the perfect denotes a contemporaneous or simultaneous aspect which is opposed to its usage with the imperfect, which is mainly habitual in aspectual connotation<sup>1</sup>. This is simply the opposition in the present carried into the domain of the temporal past. This opposition is likewise present in the examples collected in the texts:

- Wb cerudboí iudas et cerudbatar iudei oca thindnaculsom 'though Judas (was) and the Jews were delivering Him up' 4 b 13  
it hé són leviti olchene no bítis oc timthirecht inna n-idbart  
 those are the Levites who used to be attending to the offerings' 10 d 17
- Ml don popul Assardu roboi oc indriud mace n-Israhel 'to the Assyrian race that was harrowing the Children of Israel' 53 a 17  
ba ac imradud cloine nobíth 'it was meditating iniquity he used to be' (with inverted emphatic construction with the copula) 55 c 19
- VT a mboí ic celébrad 'when he was leaving' 2374  
co mbitis oc tairchetul doib 'so they used to be prophesying to them' 440
- LL is amlaid boí ind ingen ic figi chorrthaici 'in fact, the maiden was weaving a frings' 7733  
in forud i mbíid ic comét na cathrach 'the platform where he used to be guarding the fort' 8426
- PH in tan ro-mbádais oc sánntugul indmais in t-shaegail 'when you were coveting the riches of the world' 8215  
o ro-bítis tra na buidne oc innsaigid Astoróth 7 oc denum edpart do  
 'since indeed, multitudes used to be approaching A. and making offerings to him' 1957
- AS ro bóí Cailte ac indissin in sceil sin 'that C. was telling that story' 5371  
do bítis lucht an tsídha iea dibhracad 'the people of the fairy-mound used to be shooting at it' 1633
- SBC co raibhi Lazarus .i. an brathair dob inmhúin leis ag eg 'that Lazarus the brother who was dear to Him was dying' 2700  
do bith gach aen dibh ac dul 'each one of them used to be going' 3399
- BC do bi se ag gairm ar in altoir a fhiadhnuise caich 'it was crowing on the altar in the presence of everyone' p. 120, l. 6  
do bidh se ag cathughadh ríu 7 ac senmoir breithri Dé doibh 'he used to be striving against them and preaching the Word of God to them' p. 432, l. 19

<sup>1</sup>M. L. Sjoestedt, *EC* III 264; *DPIK* 157-8

- TBB ré Múreachaibh do bhí ag gabháil neirt ar an Spáinn 'with the Moors who were acquiring control over Spain' 5207  
go mbídis frasa foidhearga fola ag snighe 7 ag snámh-thuitim  
 'until very red showers of blood used to be dripping and streaming' 2265
- PB idir thriúr ógánach do bhí ag feathamh ar rígh na Persia 'between three youths who were attending the King of Persia' 2196
- SB bhí an cailín beog ag eighrí suas 'the little girl was growing up' p. 66, l. 25  
do bhíoch na daoine a'glaoch go minic air agus ag túirt sintiús  
airigid do 'the people used to be calling on him often and giving him subscriptions' p. 63, l. 27
- EM bhí an Búrcach ag caitheamh a chinn fhéin go breagh 'Burke was smoking his own very successfully' p. 23, l. 32  
go mbínn ag tabhairt ceachtanna Gaedhilge 'that I used to be giving Irish lessons' p. 30, l. 32
- GG bhí gath gréine ag teacht isteach 'there was a ray of sunshine coming in' p. 41, l. 4  
bhíodh buachaillí óga ag cruinniughadh achan oidhche 'young boys used to be gathering every night' p. 12, l. 18

This periphrasis with the preterite and the perfect corresponds to the imperfect in modern French expressing as it does the development of the action of the verb as well as contemporary action within the past.<sup>1</sup>

#### Periphrastic Iterative with all other Moods and Tenses

This aspectual opposition between the periphrastic iteratives in the present and the past, is not found in the future or with the other tenses or moods. This construction is found with all of them with the durative contemporaneous aspect, but without the connotation of habituality. Thus, the only opposition is with the finite verb, without periphrasis. Examples occur in all the texts including the usage with the verbal noun of the substantive verb. No forms with the secondary future occur in the glosses<sup>2</sup>, and in the later texts it is very difficult to distinguish between the past subjunctive and the secondary future forms.

<sup>1</sup>M. L. Sjoestedt, *ÉC* III 266; *DPIK* 157; Wagner, *op.cit.* 23, Durative Past with actuality of aspect corresponds to this construction in his terms, and he uses the words "actual-habitual" for the aspect with the imperfect use. Henry seems to call the first type "imperfective" or "introspective" while citing it for Anglo-Irish in another context. *op.cit.* 186-7.

<sup>2</sup>*É.C.* III 267



A selection of the construction with these various tenses follows; these include the future, secondary future, present subjunctive, past subjunctive, imperative and verbal noun:

- Wb bíid páx libsi fri cách cia bethir oc for n-ingrim 'let there be peace with you towards all though they be a-persecuting you' 5 d 33 (pres. subj.)
- Ml buthe oc augairecht oc cairchaib sescaib 'to be shepherding with barren ewes' 100b15
- VT ar dochóid fo tri do Róim iar mbith ic foglaim isin tír 'for he went three times to Rome, after being learning in the land' 806
- LL ni biusa oca idnaide 'I shall not be awaiting it' 8315
- PH bet-sium oc ernaigti 7 oc etarguide Dé tar a chend-som 'they will be praying and imploring God on his behalf' 4287
- AS acht bí ac múnad eolais dam 'but be teaching knowledge to me' p. 219, l. 19
- SBC mar do beth leomhun a'gabhail a chreicthe 'as a lion would be gathering his spoils' 3645
- BC amail do beith duine ag delughadh rena companuch gradach 'as though a man were parting with his beloved companion' p. 408, l. 33
- TBB an tí aga mbia a chúis ag éighme 'he whose cause will be crying out' 4534
- PB bíodh sibh ag faire an bhúr n-urnaighthe 'let you be watching in your prayers' 2814
- SB mar go mbein ag tuiscint agus ag beartú an iumad 'because I would understanding and undertaking too much' p. 76, l. 37
- EM ní bheinn-se ag cur mo chuid smaointe ar pháipéar anois 'I would not be putting my thoughts on paper now' p. 72, l. 28
- GG béidh mé ag innse duit fá na rudaí deasa 'I shall be telling you about the nice things' p. 4, l. 19

### Perfective Aspect

The IE aorist was originally the domain of perfective aspect, but in Celtic the aorist coalesced with the IE perfect, and the preterite which ensued, assumed temporal function denoting anteriority; this became a purely narrative tense. Thus, from being a category which denoted "kind of action" it became a medium for indicating "grade of time"<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Strachan, TPS 1895-8 on the Use of the Particle ro- with Preterital Tenses in Old Irish, p. 77 ff. for quotations.

### Perfectivity as expressed by Preverbs

Compound verbal forms with preverbs containing lexically the semantic idea of perfectivity serve to oppose a verb which is uncompounded, and which denotes the imperfectivity of the action it expresses, e.g. saigid 'extends to' beside ro saig 'attains', tongid 'swears' and as toing 'swears away' and berid 'carries' with do beir 'brings'.<sup>1</sup> Preverbs semantically opposed, may be used with the same verbal stem and two compound verbs can show the imperfective -perfective opposition, as for instance in fo-fer 'provides' beside ro fer 'suffices', or the pair fo fich 'harms' and do fich 'avenges'; here fo as a preverb used in an imperfective context, is found opposing perfective ro and di respectively<sup>2</sup>. A combination of these two means of marking this opposition is found in fo-ceird 'throws etc.' and its perfective form ro-lá, where the contrast is made between fo and ro as well as between the forms of the verbal roots<sup>3</sup>.

The opposition of aspect has been examined for verbs of movement in Old Irish by Vendryes<sup>4</sup>. He employs the terms 'determinate-indeterminate' to illustrate the imperfective-perfective distinction in tiagu 'I go', for example, and demonstrates the distribution of this opposition in the present indicative, in the past, and in the subjunctive: tiagu 'I go', dichtim 'I go to (a place)', with their corresponding subjunctives, tiasu and dichos. With regard to the forms in the past, from which this repartition spread to the other tenses, the meaning may be seen from these uses of luid (pret.) and do choid (perfect) in the glosses: dia luid David for longais 'when David went into exile' Ml 55 c 1; and the perfective each led do choid som 'every place that he went' Wb 14 c 20. He ascribes the same functions to do-tiag and do icc 'comes', the latter supplying the terminative opposition to do-tiag.

### Perfectivity as expressed by 'moveable' Ro

Apart from the perfective function of ro as in ro saig above, the Old Irish employment of 'moveable' ro demonstrates the idea of perfectivity within the action of the verb; it is found with perfective force in various moods and tenses.

<sup>1</sup> see Meid, op.cit. pp. 106-7

<sup>2</sup> M. L. Sj.-Jonval, EC III 219 ff

<sup>3</sup> ibid. 226

<sup>4</sup> Vendryes, RC XLVI p. 215 "Sur les verbes de mouvement en celtique"; EC III 223 for more examples of this.



This ro follows immediately after the first pretonic preverb, and when the presence of a conjunct particle changes the stress position, ro comes forward to second place in the complex: im-rui-d-bed 'has been circumcised' becomes in the negative ni-ro-imdibed, with ro after im in the former and before it, immediately after the conjunct particle ni in the latter (OIG 527). This ro lenites: in-ru-cham-s-an 'has he ceased?', it is usually unstressed after a conjunct particle, but is normally stressed after prepositions, and nā, and following infixed pronouns (OIG *ibid*).

### 'Fixed' Ro

Perhaps an older usage is that of fixed 'ro' which occurs mostly with the preterite of strong verbs: as-ru-bart 'has said' and its negative form ní é-r-bart. However, both fixed and moveable ro may occur with the same verb and may be confused with the preposition for when this is incorrectly analysed (OIG 526-9).

### Ro indicating completed action or state

The uses of ro denoting completed action or state may be noted. With the preterite it denotes action already completed in the past, and gives the force of a perfect to this narrative tense, as in ciarudreig (leg. ciaridréig) som..asbeir immurgu 'although he has complained..he says however' Ml 50 d l. It likewise gives perfective force to the past subjunctive, e.g. ni animarcide cia do-ru-rmithe la noíbscíf endá 'it is not unfitting that it should have been reckoned with the sacred writings' Hib. Min. p. 36, 86 f. With the imperfect indicative ro indicates that the action was completed time after time in the past<sup>1</sup>. When the present indicative and the present subjunctive in general clauses are used with ro, the form denotes action completed by the time that the action of the verb in the main clause takes place: with subjunctive, ma ro-era flaith seotu 'if a Lord have given chattels' ALI II 262; with indicative iarsindí ro m-bí hi rige 'after it has been straight' Ml 99 d l. When The present subjunctive with ro is used instead of the future, this ro form may have the force of a future perfect<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>See Ériu VI 134, 19f

<sup>2</sup>OIG 526-531; Thurneysen KZ XXXVI 52ff. Strachan, Action and Time in the Irish Verb TPS 1899-1900, 408ff.



Prospective Perfective Aspect with Ro

This function of ro stems from the temporal idea of perfectivity in the future, when the action is viewed as an end to be arrive at. This prospect may be looked at from any particular point of time, and so may be used with the different tenses in Old Irish.<sup>1</sup> This usage is generally called "possibility" although the idea is really not that a thing is possible but that it can be achieved. Examples:

Present Indicative: ni ruirmui, ni airmiu a ndorigenai ind noeb duil 'I am unable to count, I do not count what the holy creature has done' Thes II 338.

Preterite: ni ruba fer dia muintir 'he was not able to slay one of his people' Eriu, 5, 32

Imperfect indicative: ni ructais som airesom ni rucad som foruibseom 'they did not succeed in getting away from him, he could not get away from them' LU 83 b 6.

Future: ni'dergenat mó bás cid accubar leu 'they will not achieve by death although they desire it' MI 80 a 9.

Secondary future: mad aill duib cid accaldam neich diib darigente 'if ye desired even to converse with any of them, ye could do it' WB 13 b 3.

Present subjunctive: sechi chruth dondrón 'in whatsoever manner I may be able to do it' Sb 5 b 18.

Past subjunctive: ni pu nach derninn-se aem 'not that I could not have done it indeed' Wb 8 a 5.

Ro give a hortative subjunctive optative meaning as in da-rolgea dia doib 'may God forgive it them' Wb 31 a 2.

All of these uses of ro may be traced back to its original function as a perfectivating particle. The anteriority-simultaneity opposition which exists between the forms without ro and those with ro, is clear. According to Kurylowicz<sup>2</sup> "anteriority is perfectivity determined by tense" (which is "the grammatical distinction" of present, past and future). With regard to the Old Irish system which is dominated by temporal considerations, the perfective or terminative aspect may be taken in two ways: (1) the prospective terminative aspect, when the action of the verb is looked upon as something to be achieved or arrived at, and (2) the retrospective perfective aspect which views the action as having been achieved or arrived at.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>M.L. Sj.-Jonval, EC III 238 ff.: Strachan op. cit. 410-11.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit. p. 90; 92-4; 130.

<sup>3</sup>M.L. Sj.-Jonval, EC III 237-46.

Thus, the differences in the ro usages may be accounted for, and their various values are the different realisations of the same terminative value in subjunctive and indicative alike; the imperative does not have ro because its very nature precludes perfective aspect, whether prospective or retrospective.

This anterior-simultaneous opposition is not found with either the future or the perfect, and there are no pluperfect or future perfect tenses in Old Irish<sup>1</sup>. The perfect with ro becomes a narrative tense and ro begins to be taken merely as a mark of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses although it is never found<sup>2</sup> in unfulfilled conditions. The uses of ro will be pointed out in the sections treating of subordinate clauses where this is relevant.

#### Substitutes for 'Ro'

Verbs with stems beginning in a consonant generally infix ad where ro would be used, after the preverb com, when they are so compounded: con-dieig 'seeks', con-aitecht 'sought'. Verbs with a final g in the root, and some without the guttural, have com instead of ro: fo-loing 'sustains' fo-cóem-allag 'I sustained'; ad-fét 'relates', ad-cu(a)id 'related'. Other substitutes include ess, to com etc. as well as suppletive verbal forms which have been mentioned already. (OIG 531-4)<sup>3</sup>.

#### The Perfect

The perfect is aspectually stative, and complex in that it contains something of a present and something of a past; it is the state which results from action accomplished. When tense became a more important factor in the IE languages the perfect furnished presents as well as preterites, as in Latin the preterite tutudi beside the present memini<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>OIG 530, but see supra, re present subjunctive used as future with the force of future perfect when used with ro, as dian-áe-r-balam-ni ní bia nech 'if we shall have died, there will be no one' Ml 107 d 4, Kurylowicz, op.cit. p.93

<sup>2</sup>OIG 530 where as a corollary to this, it is pointed out that "if this happened that would happen" and "if this had happened that would happen" or "have happened" are not differentiated in Irish.

<sup>3</sup>For various exceptional cases see OIG 535-7

<sup>4</sup>Meillet, op. cit. p. 175



So also certain verbs in Old Irish are perfect in form but present in meaning: ro fitir 'know', do futharcair 'desire', ad-ágathar 'fear' and rondgab 'is'<sup>1</sup>. The IE perfect which is the source of the reduplicated and longvowel preterite in Old Irish, merged functionally with the aorist which is reflected in the s- and t- preterites, and becomes a narrative tense<sup>2</sup>. As has been said above, ro with the preterite supplies the perfect.

### Renewal of Perfect

In IE languages, in Greek, Latin, and Slavic, the perfect is usually renewed, by the creation of a periphrastic perfect, with the past participle or "derivatives semantically related to it". The past participle describes the result of a finished action and as such expresses anterior action<sup>3</sup>. The elimination of the terminative ro- system in Middle Irish is followed by a periphrastic perfect usage of a construction made up of the verbal adjective and the substantive verb with oc, ag, the preposition governing the agent of the action expressed in the verbal adjective; this demonstrates precisely the same trend as that observed in the other languages. Dillon suggests that this new construction ata sé déanta agam 'I have done it' "may have appeared as early as the thirteenth century"<sup>4</sup>. At any rate it is of frequent occurrence in Modern Irish and expresses both anteriority and state<sup>5</sup>.

SB bhí a gealúint túrtha aice dho 'she had given him her promise'  
p. 43, 1.9:

go raibh sí tacaithe abhaile 'that she had come home' p. 42, 1.19

EM tá lóistín fáighte agam-sa dhuit 'I have got lodgings for you' p. 20,  
1. 33

GG go raibh fiche rann canta aige 'until he had sung fifty quatrains'  
p. 101, 1.3

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 619; 781; Watkins, IEQCV 122; E.G. Quin, Hermathena XCIX (1964) 54

<sup>2</sup>Watkins, op.cit. 110 ff.; See also Kurylowicz, who postulates four successive stages in Proto-Celtic in the development from the IE perfective aorist down to the Old Irish stage where ro plus IE aorist perfect denotes anteriority. op.cit. p. 128

<sup>3</sup>Kurylowicz, op.cit. p. 97

<sup>4</sup>Dillon, Language 17, p. 49-50; here he equates it with Latin habeo factum and mentions possible Latin influence from translation literature.

<sup>5</sup>Compare Romance usage, dictum habeo denoting anteriority plus state as against dixi, which is confined to narrative function, Kurylowicz op.cit. p. 55.



This has been commented upon by Mm. Sjoestedt-Jonval (DPIK 155) who considers it a true verb of state expressing the result of a previous action; she terms this type the "extensive" aspect. Wagner labels it "possessive-stative". (VBI 23) and P. Henry "Retrospective II" (AIDR par. 84-5). This construction may be used with all moods and tenses in Mod. Irish and with intransitive verbs as in the second example from SB above.

The prepositions meaning 'after' are used with the verbal noun predicatively with the substantive verb. The earliest so used is iar, and others include tar éis, i ndiaidh, and a haithle\*. O'Rahilly discusses this construction and suggests tentatively that it does not come into use until the fifteenth century, if as early as that. He concludes that it was frowned upon by the literati and cites an example with the text "somewhat uncertain" from a letter dated 1642, athar...atá iar gcríoch-nughadh a sduideir san Róimh 'a father who has finished his studies in Rome'; and another from MacCurtin's Grammar of 1728, atá Domhnall (i)ar mbualadh Eoin with the author's own translation 'Daniel is after beating John'. These are the earliest examples he cites of this construction with a transitive verbal noun. The following translation of mortuus est in TBB is at least confirmatory evidence for the seventeenth-century usage in atá ar bhfaghail bhais 'he has died' 408. As has been seen in the spelling of the two last examples, iar becomes ar and tends to become confused with ar < for, and other prepositions which expressed the meaning 'after' with more clarity came into use; a haithle is attested in 1459.

The use of tar éis in this construction does not seem to be in the texts before PB, where there appears to be only one occurrence of it, teangbháil ar shomh mhac tíre do bhiadh tar éis a cuaine do chailleamhuin 'to meet a wolf bitch who would have lost (lit. would be after losing) her litter' 1423. It is well attested<sup>1</sup> in Munster and Connacht, and in Ulster i ndiaidh occurs: EM bhiodar tar eis a fhadughadh 'they had kindled a fire' p.84, l.8.

bhí na siothmhaor taréis cuaird a thabhairt 'the police had (just) paid a visit' p.63.

<sup>1</sup>IDPP loc. cit.; Sjoestedt, DPIK p. 152 cites táim tréis a dheanta and táim tréis é dheanamh 'je viens de la faire'; the French gives the idea of "just having done it"; see also J. Gagnepain, La Syntaxe du Nom Verbal dans les Langues Celtiques, Paris 1963, p. 267 for exx. from Kerry Irish.

\*Irish Dialects Past and Present, Dublin 1932, p. 234 ff.

GG bhi si i ndiaidh a faoiside a dhéanamh 'She had (just) made her confession' p. 25, l.15.

GG mar bheadh sé i ndiaidh intheacht lena bheo cirthí 'as though he had just escaped with his life from her' p. 20, l.34.

There is a passive type in EM with tar eis a bheith 'after being': EM bhi an t-oileán thar éis a bheith suibhalta 'the island had been transversed' p. 27, l. 20; this is a blend of the "immediate perfect" and the perfect with the verbal adjective, and the influence of English has been suggested.<sup>1</sup>

The aspectual status of the above construction has been given various titles: Wagner and Henry place it under Subjective Aspect and term it "Retrospective" and "Retrospective II" respectively; Mme. Jonval considers it as an extension of the principle used in creating the periphrastic iterative (atá ag plus Vn.), whereby the language can express varied nuances of aspect.<sup>2</sup>

#### Prospective Aspect in Periphrasis with Verbal Noun Phrases

The idea that an action is imminent or about to happen<sup>3</sup> is expressed in Modern Irish by the use of chun < dochum with a verbal noun phrase and similarly de < fri fal, as well as the phrase a'gol, a'goil, probably after English "going". The examples of this in GG are written a'gabháil but O'Rahilly gives Scottish use of a'dol also.

The prepositional phrase ar tí 'on the point of' also occurs in this construction; the ar tí examples in the earlier texts seem to mean "intent upon" rather than "about to", as in SBC do bí si ar tí a fheasa d'faghbhail 'she was intent upon finding (it) out' 266.

<sup>1</sup> by O'Rahilly possibly, but source not available.

<sup>2</sup> Wagner VSBI 28; Henry AIDR par. 84, 85; M L. Sjoestedt DPIK p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Wagner, op. cit. 27; O'Rahilly, op. cit. 234.

In SB the prospective aspect is clear enough. Other examples:

BC do bí ar tí báis do tabairt do, no corab í a ben posta do bí ar tí a cur dochum bais 'who was about to (intended to?) give him death, or that it was his wife who was about to (intended to?) put him to death' p. 268.

TBB an tan do bhí an pobal ar tí a n-adhartha mar dhóe 'when the people were about to (wished to?) adore them as gods' 156.

SB go raibh sé ar tí díobháil do dhéanamh do an uíhe sin 'he was going to do harm to him that night' p. 30, l. 24.

Chun used prospectively with the verbal noun is found in the 15th century, according to O'Rahilly.<sup>1</sup> An instance has not been found in the early texts, but one occurs in the Betha Muire (which is contemporary with SBC) in which the meaning 'about to' seems particularly clear, e.g. do marbhadar mo Mhac anis, no atait siad chun a marbtha 'they killed my Son now, or they are about to kill Him' 2822.<sup>2</sup> It does not seem to be in PB. There are many examples in SB: ca'tán tu chun a dhéanamh? 'what are you going to do?' p. 74, l. 13; nách chuinn mo dhíobhála atán tu 'that it is not going to destroy me that you are' p.26, l. 2.

The equivalent of the chun phrase is supplied in GG by a similar construction introduced by ag gabháil, as in bhí Bríghid ag gabháil a fhiafrúighe daoithe 'B. was going to ask her' p.7, l. 34. Le is found in the three dialect texts in this sense, and in EM it supplies for chun and ag gabháil of the other dialects:

SB do bhi aonach eile capal le bheith ann 'there was another horse fair to take place' p. 7, l. 27

EM go raibh an Cabhlach Gearmáineach le theacht isteach 'that the German Navy was to come in' p. 61, l. 8.

GG bhí ag na buachaillí le cruinniúghadh 'the boys were to gather' p. 16, l. 30.

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<sup>1</sup>IDPP pp. 233-4

<sup>2</sup>cited from proof copy



## MOOD IN OLD IRISH

The Indicative Mood

The indicative mood in all its tenses states that an action is regarded as a fact by the speaker. The indicative mood in co-ordinate and subordinate clauses presents a coincidence of such facts without any necessary relationship between the occurrences denoted.<sup>1</sup>

The Subjunctive Mood

That the modal system of Old Irish, as inherited from Indo-European, was independent of temporal and aspectual consideration has been shown by Watkins<sup>2</sup>; the original subjunctives in Irish were "aspectually and temporally neutralized indicatives, plus the implication of the attitude of the speaker,"<sup>3</sup> and the creation of the secondary past subjunctive is a later innovation which took place in proto-Irish. The subjunctive in Irish consists of two types: the a-subjunctive which is the reflex of the IE optative and the s-subjunctive which has its source in the IE sigmatic aorist.

In Old Irish the subjunctive mood is required whenever the performance of the action defined by the verb depends upon a subjective attitude which prevents the unconditional realisation of that action.<sup>4</sup> This subjective attitude governing the mood may be termed the modal perspective. In main clauses the modal perspective is implicit (as in willing, wishing); in subordinate clauses the grammatical employment of the subjunctive depends on the modal perspective imposed, either by the verb in the main clause, or by conjunctions which express will or wish as in final clauses, or hypothesis as in conditional and concessive clauses.

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<sup>1</sup>M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, *ÉC* III, 123.

<sup>2</sup>IEOCV 125, such examples as -cra, subj. of crenaid 'buys', demonstrate this fact; here the "modal morpheme -a-" was not attached to the stem of the present but directly to the verbal root; OIG 596.

<sup>3</sup>Watkins, *ibid.*; see also Ériu XIX 29, footnote 2 where he says, "that the Celtic s-subjunctive directly continues a sigmatic aorist indicative, not a subjunctive, is proved by the simple fact that the 3 sg. is athematic just as in the t-preterite and s-preterite: \*ged-s-t(i) > O.Ir. geiss/-gé."

<sup>4</sup>M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, *ÉC* III, 118 ff.



### Subjunctive of Will and Wish

1. In main clauses the two values are generally differentiated by the use of perfective ro with the subjunctive of wish in positive clauses; in negative sentences ní ro is found with both types. The hortatory subjunctive expresses a permanent order<sup>1</sup>; this does not have a perfective ro when the emphasis is on the idea of the action itself, as in dogné-sa maith frissom et bid maidsom iarum 'let you do good towards him and he will be good then' Wb. 5 d 39. When the accomplishment or completion of the action is envisaged, perfective ro is used and the subjunctive is optative, as in ro erthar dúib uili 'may it be given to you all' Wb. 18 b 23. Mme. Sjoestedt-Jonval has pointed out that this distinction between terminative and non-terminative subjunctive types was eliminated, and ro became the mark of the optative, without regard to this differentiation of willing-wishing; this is shown clearly in later glosses on the Old Irish Hymns, e.g. snáidsiunn 'may he protect us' is glossed ronsnade sind.

This repartition of willing-wishing is not present to any appreciable extent in negative clauses, where the principal idea is the prevention of the execution of some action; this is looked upon as an end in itself and accordingly the subjunctive with ro predominates in negative clauses of will and wish, e.g. nim dersaige fri uathad 'do not awaken me for one person' LU 5119.

2. In final clauses the subjunctive without ro occurs to express the objective of an action,<sup>2</sup> as in is bées tra donaib dagforcithidib molad ingni inna n-étside ara carat an rochluinetar 'it is a custom, then, of good teachers to praise the understanding of the hearers that they may love what they hear' Wb. 11 b 6; the ro-subjunctive (in the overwhelming majority of cases with con-) expresses hypothetical consequence, an end wished and hoped for, e.g. conrochra cách alaile 'that everyone may love the other' Wb. 6 d 1. In negative final clauses the

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<sup>1</sup>ibid. 251 f. for all the material in this paragraph.

<sup>2</sup>ibid. 256 ff. where the statistics of forms with and without ro in final clauses in the glosses are discussed by Mme. Sjoestedt-Jonval. The examples cited are taken from her study of this material.

subjunctive with ro denotes fear, thus, arnách rólleca derchoiniud dílgid dó 'lest despair swallow him up, forgive him' Wb.14 d 21. On the other hand if willing predominates in the idea expressed, a subjunctive without ro occurs, as in asbertatar a n-anman arna gaba nech desimrecht diib 'their names are mentioned so that nobody will follow their example' Wb. 28 a 20.

The subjunctive of will occurs of course in indirect commands, e.g. is hed tra forchain som hic, ara tucca cách a canas 'this then is what he teaches hic, that everyone should understand what he recites' Wb. 27 b 27; as-rubart día hi recht . . . ara sechitis a thimnae 'God had said in the Law that they should follow His Commandments' Ml.125 c 2.

### Subjunctive of Hypothesis<sup>1</sup>

1. In main clauses the subjunctive may express hypothesis and unreality; negative hypothesis is unreality,<sup>2</sup> as in examples with bés 'perhaps': do retaib ata chosmaili fri fír la doini 7 bes ni bat fira la dia 'of things that are like truth in the eyes of men, and perchance they are not true in the eyes of God' Ml.51 b 8; bés níp áill do daínib 'perhaps it is not pleasing to men' Féil. Epil. 417.

2. In nasalising relative clauses<sup>3</sup> which correspond to noun clauses and are the equivalent of either subject or object of the verb in the main clause the subjunctive expresses hypothesis, doubt, improbability or unreality (except after verbs of saying and thinking. For these see below). Examples: is écen dom són nonda-ges dait-siu 'it is necessary for me that I should pray for them to Thee' Ml.21 b 9; combad notire rodscribad cosse 'it would have been a notary who had written it hitherto' Wb.27 d 16.

When the action defined by the verb in the subordinate clause is hypothetical, unreal, improbable, etc., the past subjunctive is used as a subjunctive of the secondary future after (a) verbs of saying, thinking, etc. and (b) expressions denoting rejected reason (unreality, etc.).

<sup>1</sup>OIG 516-8; Strachan, TPS 1895-8, 225 ff. on the Use of the Subjunctive Mood in Irish; M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, ÉC III 119-20.

<sup>2</sup>OIG 517; ÉC III, 124.

<sup>3</sup>OIG 518.



Examples: (a) arna tomnathar bed foammamichthe deacht don doínacht 'that it may not be supposed that the Godhead is subject to the Manhood' Wb.13 c 2; (b) clauses introduced by ní . . . nád 'it is not . . . that not', ní airindí 'it is not because', as ní nád mbed ar se di chorp act atá de 'not that it is not therefore of the body, but it is of it' Wb.12 a 22, and ar iss ed laithe in sin ro n-génair-som ní airindí ro-n-genad som isind luc-sin 'for that is the day on which he was born, it is not because he was born in that place' Sg.31 a 6.

In indirect questions, uncertainty and improbability are expressed by the subjunctive, e.g. áus indip fochunn ícce dó a indarpe 'to see if perchance his expulsion may be a cause of salvation for him' Wb.26 b 27.

The subjunctive occurs in relative clauses which express hypothetical generality and qualify an undetermined subject or object in the main sentence. Examples: do thabairt dúib neich risid a less 'to give you whatsoever ye may need' Wb. 24 b 2; ar is insae in ball do thinchosc neich asberad cenn 'for it is impossible that the member should correct what the head might utter' Wb. 13 a 19.

The hypothetical subjunctive is found also in conditional, concessive, temporal, and comparative clauses; these various usages are treated in the chapters dealing specifically with adverbial clauses. (See pp.190ff.).

#### The Imperative Mood

The imperative mood expresses immediate command. It cannot be employed in subordinate construction; thus retrospective aspect is excluded. On the other hand it cannot of its nature express prospective aspect, and therefore it has no ro-forms.

In so far as it expresses will the subjunctive agrees with the imperative; the two oppose in that the imperative denotes an immediate order while the subjunctive without regard to temporality expresses a permanent command.<sup>1</sup> Therefore one finds a negative order with the subjunctive opposing a positive one with the imperative, because forbidding is more efficacious if general and indefinite, and commanding is more pressing if limited to the definite and particular.

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<sup>1</sup>M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, *ÉC* III, 119.

### Infinitive Mood

There is no infinitive mood in Celtic, but there are constructions with the verbal noun which substitute for it to some degree (See pp. 69 ff.).

### Sequence of Mood

1. In sentences of the inverted emphatic type, introduced by the copula, if the copula is subjunctive or imperative the verb of the so-called relative clause is in the subjunctive mood,<sup>1</sup> e.g., bat hé berte bretha lib 'let it be them who give judgements among you'. Wb. 9 c 12; acht rop Crist pridches et imme-rada cách 'provided that everyone preaches and meditates on Christ' Wb. 23 b 24.

2. After a present tense (a) the present subjunctive is usually found, but (b) a past subjunctive may occur when the idea expressed by the verb is especially unreal and hypothetical, and (c) occasionally the present and the past subjunctive occur side by side in the same sentence. Examples:

- (a) níttá ní indit móide 'there is nothing for thee to boast about' (lit. 'there is nothing about which you may boast') Wb. 2 b 12.
- (b) ni molat Día in ifurn co n-etaitis dilgud ho siudiu tri sodin 'they do not praise God in Hell so that they might obtain forgiveness from Him thereby' Ml. 130 b 6.
- (c) is airi cotnoat som arnách rísat fochaidi demuin conid cloitis asind noibi hi mbi 'it is for this that they protect him, that the tribulations of the devil may not reach him, so that they might not drive him from the holiness wherein he is'

3. After (a) a past tense the past subjunctive is found and (b) the present subjunctive very rarely. Examples:

- (a) asrubart Dia ara sechitis a thimnae 'God said they should follow His ordinances' Ml 125 c 2.
- (b) Pátraic pridchais do Scottaib, ro chés mór saeth il Lethu, immi co tísat do bráth in cách dosfuc do bethu 'Patrick preached to the Scots, he suffered great tribulation in Letavia, that there may come about him to judgement all whom he brought to life' Hy. II 35.

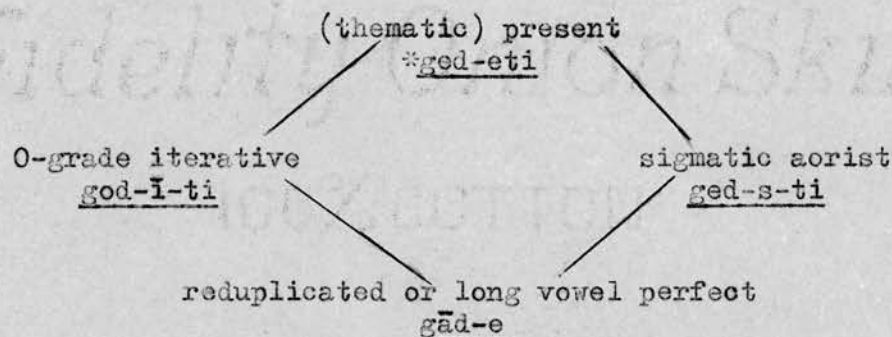
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<sup>1</sup>Strachan-Bergin, Old Irish Paradigms, p. 143 note 59.

Introduction

Tense dominates the verbal system of Old Irish, but this was not the original situation in Common Celtic. Following the lines laid down for Indo-European by Kurylowicz, Watkins has discussed the verbal categories inherited by Common Celtic and their subsequent development in Proto-Irish.<sup>1</sup> He concludes that the original aspectual basis for distinction became a temporal repartition (see Ch. V.) and tense became the dominant factor; the modal plane was originally independent of aspectual or temporal nuances (see Ch. VI).

According to Watkins<sup>2</sup> "six forms represent the sum of the formal inheritance from Indo-European in the Celtic finite verb"; these include four on the "aspecto-temporal plane" and two on the "modal plane". The following diagram may serve to illustrate the former group, using the the forms of giudid 'prays' based on the root \*ged- < IE \*g<sup>W</sup>hedh- :



The modal plane is represented by the desiderative \*gi-ged-s-ti and the optative \*ged-ā-ti, which have their reflexes in the Old Irish future and a-subjunctive respectively. The iterative present coalesces with the general present, and the perfect merges with the aorist, so the opposition becomes a simple temporal distinction between the present and the past. The old desiderative supplied a future<sup>3</sup> with temporal connotation, thereby giving a "linear organization" preterite-present-future as in other IE languages, e.g. Classical Sanskrit. The formation of the secondary tenses (the imperfect, the secondary future and the past subjunctive) is later

<sup>1</sup>IEOCV 110 ff.

<sup>2</sup>ibid. 117-9 especially.

<sup>3</sup>This is an Irish innovation. See ibid. 122-3.



than the separation of Proto-Irish and Proto-Welsh.<sup>1</sup> These secondary tenses have no absolute flexion; hence when there is logically no other word preceding the simple verb and demanding conjunct flexion, no is prefixed, with the conjunct.

### The Present Indicative

The present tense<sup>1</sup> expresses a verbal action, outside of temporal limit; this is real as opposed to the unreality of the subjunctive. Frequently the present indicative expresses habituality of the action. Likewise the intemporal quality of this tense allows it to be used of past and future time<sup>2</sup> and thus one finds the present used as a narrative past, known as the historic present, and also on occasion referring to future time. Examples:

- (1) Instantaneous Present  
atluchur do Dia 'I give thanks to God' Wb. 3 b 19 (gl. Gratias ago autem Deo).
- (2) Intemporal Present  
is follus ad drogduine siu lasse nomidter et nocairigther a n-olcc dia cocéitbani 'it is manifest that thou art a bad man when thou judgest and blamest the evil to which thou consentest' Wb. 1 c 10.
- (3) Historic Present  
tic Medb iar ndescin in tslóig 7 asbert ba n-espá do chách dul in tslógaid 'Maev came after surveying the host and said it would be useless for all to go on the hosting' LU 56 b 14.
- (4) Present in future sense<sup>3</sup>  
intí cretfes ní ágathar a ngreim 'he who shall believe does not fear their power' Wb. 1 a 3.  
tiagsa con tall a chenn 'I go to take off his head' Ml. 58 c 6.

<sup>1</sup>M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, *ÉC* III 106 ff; J. Strachan, *Action and Time in the Irish Verb*, TPS 1899-1902, 408 ff; TPS 1895-8, *Subjunctive Mood in Irish*, 225 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Strachan, loc. cit.; see also remarks by G. Murphy DF III, p. cxix, on the recognition of this fact by the grammarians of the Bardic Schools, when tigim could mean 'I came, I come, I shall come' with ané, aniodh, amárach 'yesterday, today, tomorrow' respectively.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

From the Grammatical Tracts, Murphy<sup>1</sup> cites an tig an t-iarla don bhaile 'will the earl come home?' Strachan<sup>2</sup> has observed that the present with future meaning is rare, but that it occurs with the verb tíagu 'I go' especially. It is interesting that Murphy's late examples are of ticcim 'I come'.

### The Imperfect Indicative

The imperfect indicative,<sup>3</sup> also called the secondary present, expresses an action in the past; it is a past of generality without reference to a specific occurrence and therefore this tense frequently denotes an action which was customary or repetitive. In the glosses this is the tense used to translate the Latin imperfect. As a past of general time it opposes the preterite of particular time.

Examples:

in doini adordais inna idlu 'the people who used adore the idols' Ml. 36 d 16.

inna athissi do mbeirtis som formni batar athissi sidi dano daitsiu a Dae 'the insults they used to put upon us were insults to Thee, O God'. Ml. 90 d 17.

### The Future Tense

The future<sup>4</sup> denotes that the action of the verb is localised in the time to come, e.g. taiccéra cách dara een fessin 'everyone shall answer for himself' Wb. 6 b 28.

It also serves as a future perfect and thus translating Latin expressions of completed action, e.g. in tan no scairiub frisna huili deithnidea domaindi 'when I shall have parted with all worldly anxieties' (gl. cum vacuero) Ml. 43 a 23.

<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup>loc. cit.; in Scottish Gaelic the present indicative form has become future in meaning. O'Rahilly, IDPP p. 167, notes that this usage with the negative cha has passed into Ulster Irish, e.g. cha dtéid se 'he will not go', where it was also extended to the negative nach, e.g. síleam nach dtéid se 'I think he will not go', and to clauses dependent on a negative clause, e.g. na bíodh eagla ort go ndéanam e 'do not be afraid that I shall do it'.

<sup>3</sup>Strachan, loc. cit.; M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, ÉC III, 114-5.

<sup>4</sup>Strachan, loc. cit.; M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, ÉC III, 113.

The Old Irish future translates periphrastic Latin phrases with -turus, e.g. ni nad todoichfet 'it is not that they will not come' (gl. non quia non sint futura) Ml. 28 b 6.

### The Secondary Future

The secondary future<sup>1</sup> or conditional serves various functions containing, as it does, elements of a future and of a past tense. It may be a future of the past, a potential future or an unreal future; these values may be traced ultimately to the value of an objective future, the reality of which is dependent on the ratio of reality attributable to the secondary moment from which the verbal action is viewed. When the main verb is past the secondary character of the subordinate verb, it expresses itself as a secondary future, without any conditional or hypothetical implication, the only unreality being that the action has not yet happened. But when the context is hypothetical or unreal, the future is also unreal, i.e. conditional, so 'if X happened, Y would happen'.

This tense has been discussed by Strachan, Mme. Sjoestedt-Jonval and Baudiš. Baudiš' treatment is the most comprehensive but appears confused and confusing. He seems to show that the conditional expresses (1) an impending action in the past, i.e. what would have happened in the past and (2) what would, could or should happen in the future. Futurity is always implicit even in the potential use; the secondary future emphasises futurity and tense as distinct from the subjunctive which emphasises hypothesis. In conditional clauses the protasis is a subjective idea which, if realised, will result objectively in the apodosis (conditional).

Usages:

- (1) expressing a future of the past and thus in indirect speech in past context, where in a present context the future would be used, e.g.  
ind aimser dundiofitis assair 'the time that the Assyrians were thus to come' Ml. 68 a 1.  
atbert Conchobar co tífad uathad a dóchum 'Conor said that he would come to him with few' LL 8385.

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<sup>1</sup>Strachan, loc. cit.; J. Baudiš, RC XXXIII 324 ff.; M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, ÉC III 116 ff.



Indí di maccaib israhel lasin rubu chumtabart inda biad torbae fa naic do molad dae 'such of the children of Israel as were in doubt whether it would profit them or not to praise God' Ml. 102 d 4.

- (2) in deliberative sentences, including interrogatives with the meaning 'should', e.g.

cia no ragad . . . acht mad messi? 'who (else) should go but me?' TBDD par. 70.

ma dorígne na mora, cid ar na dingned na becca? 'if he did big things, why should he not do little ones?' PH 1776.

Amal nad finnatar sidi cia loc sainriud dia regtais 'as they do not discover to what particular place they should go' Ml 99 b 10.

- (3) expressing volition with the meaning 'would', e.g.

duuothar tria rosc aní no labraifitis 'through their eye is understood what they would have said' Ml. 55 a 10.

ni fetar indamsoirfad dia fanacc 'I do not know whether God would deliver me or not' Ml. 90 c 19.

nit meradsu sain a meic bic 'he would not divulge that to you, little boy' LL 8488.

- (4) expressing potentiality with the meaning 'could', e.g.

air cia salmscribdid conicfed són 'for what psalmist could have done that?' Ml. 14 a 6.

tri claidib duba dimóra léo . . . nó didlastáis finnae for usciu 'they had three huge black swords . . . they could split a hair upon the water' TBDD par. 128.

machdath 7 ingnad limsa . . . cia no thescfad in ngabail 7 bífed in cethrur buí remoind i traitise 'it is a marvel and a wonder to me . . . who could have cut the fork and killed the four who were before us as quickly as this' LL 8190.

- (5) in the apodosis of hypothetical and unreal conditions, e.g.

ma rrufeste ní gette na brithemnachta becca erriu 'if ye had known it ye would not take the little judgements from them' Wb. 9 c 8.

ni tibertais piana foraib mani esersitis 'the punishments would not be inflicted on them if they did not rise' Ml. 15 c 7.

cia chondesin far súli dosmbérthe dom 'though I had asked for your eyes, ye would have given them to me' Wb. 19 d 24.

### The Preterite

The preterite<sup>1</sup> expresses a particular verbal action in the past, whereas the imperfect is a past of generality. It is made up of a

<sup>1</sup>M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, *ÉC III*, 110; Watkins *IEOCV*, 119-20; Strachan *TPS* 1895-8, p. 231.

conflation of the IE aorist and the IE perfect and is the narrative tense of Old Irish, e.g. ar roptar sonartu maicc Israhel in tain sin 'for the sons of Israel were stronger then' Ml. 49 a 16.

The preterite may occur in a pluperfect sense though the perfect is generally used to express this, e.g. airgsitar in geilt geltatar ind eich 'they perceived the grazing, which the horses had grazed' LV 57 b 17.

The preterite may be found with contemporaneous connotation, e.g. amail imindráidset connacatar Fiacc Find euocu 'as they were cogitating about it, they saw Fiacc Find coming towards them' Thes. II 241.

The Perfect. See p. 46.

The Pluperfect. See also Preterite, above.

The perfect may express a pluperfect action, e.g. runuaib-rigestar 'which he had profaned' (gl. quos . . . profanaverat) Ml. 73 b 10.

The Tenses of the Subjunctive. See Ch. VI

### Sequence of Tenses<sup>1</sup>

When the verb in the subordinate clause refers to the same time as the verb in the main clause, both verbs may be in the same tense in the indicative mood, e.g. ro festar cach mbelre, in tain bérthar i ndoíri 'it will know every tongue, when it is (lit. will be) carried into captivity' Wb. 12 d 27. But when the sense requires it both tenses are different, e.g. ní con-bia cumscugud for pianad bith suthain innaní ingrennat inna firianu 'there will be no alteration to the everlasting punishment of those that persecute the righteous' Ml. 26 d 12.

With regard to the historic present, this is usually taken as a past, and the tense in the subordinate clause following a historic present in a main clause is normally past, e.g. leicid som cloich as a tailm /eo mebaid a súil ina cind 'he let fly a stone from a sling so that her eye broke in her head' LU 77 a 6.

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<sup>1</sup>Strachan, *ibid.* p. 235 ff.

## CHAPTER VIII : NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS WITH THE VERB

The Verbal Noun<sup>1</sup>

Syntactically a noun, this abstract form is attached to every verb, and it occurs in singular nominal case positions, e.g. nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative. The noun object of a transitive verbal noun may be expressed by a following adnominal genitive, e.g. molad na mná 'praising the woman', and the pronominal object by a possessive pronoun, e.g. mo molad 'praising me (lit. 'my praising'))'. These verbal noun phrases may occur in the various noun case positions (in the singular). Examples:

CG ní dlig dénum a dúni 'he does not merit the making of his fort' 574.

díles a osolggud di maich 'it is unactionable to open it (lit. 'its opening') from outside' 210.

Wb ni áir do neuch molad alaíli 'it is no reproach to one to praise (lit. 'praising of') another' 16 a 24.

amal is tre bar tabirtsi dochum nirisce ronbiani indocbál 'as it is through bringing you (lit. 'your bringing') to the faith we shall have glory' 14 c 17.

M1 denum tintuda inna firinne isind ebrae isin laitín 'to make a translation of the truth that is in Hebrew into Latin' 2 d 11.

cid cuit a ccaide nammá 'even as to touching it only' 39 a 10.

VT fororcongairt fera mogadu orgain in chléirich 'he ordered his serfs to destroy the cleric' 2710.

úair ba bes lasna geinti a n-adnacal fo n-armaib 'for it was customary for the heathens to bury them in armour' 803.

LL ro scáich dóibsiú urnam bid 7 lenna 'they ceased to prepare (lit. 'it ceased for them preparing of') food and drink' 7886.

ni comadas a rád frimsa sain 'it is not fitting to say that to me (lit. 'its saying to me, that'))' 7903.

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<sup>1</sup> OIG 720; Baudiš, Zum Gebrauch der Verbal Nomina im Irischen, ZCP IX, 380 ff.; J. Gagnepain, La Syntaxe du Nom Verbal dans les langues Celtiques, I. Irlandais, Paris 1963; T.F. O'Rahilly, Desiderius 262 ff.; C.Ó. Cadhlaigh, Gnás na Gaedhilge, Dublin 1940, 74 ff.; Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí, Dublin 1960, 247 ff.



PH cid dochanus duib orse, coisecrad na heclaisi 'what causes you' said he 'to consecrate the church?' 6346.

déna mo fhomud 7 mo derbud a Dé 'effect my testing and my proving, O God' 7966.

SBC nar fedadur congball a ndeor 'that they could not restrain their tears' 2729.

dluthaighedh an Tigherna re n-a deiblénaibh a n-aimsir a cathaighthi 'the Lord was made close to His orphans at the time of their tempting' 5179.

BC múchadh na ferge bud cóir 'the quenching of the anger would be fitting' p.188, l. 4.

do b' urussa le Día ar n-anacul ort 'it were easy for God to protect us from you' p. 204, l. 17.

TBB tionnsgnam cruinniughadh na soitheach san seanórdhacht 'let us begin collecting the vessels in old age' (incipiamus vasa in senectute colligere) 2369.

lucht a leanta 'his followers (lit. 'the folk of his following')' 2295.

PB noch do-chuaidh chum righeachtanuis tré dhíothchur a ccairde 'who went into penury through the expulsion of their friends' 151.

ionnas gurab urusa dhóibh a shealbhúghadh 'so that it is easy for them to take possession of it' 1945.

SB Níl aon díoluíocht bhuan . . . ach leigheas mo ghearachaile 'I want no payment . . . but the curing of my little girl' p. 68, l.6.

beig ort mo dhíol er an láthir seo 'you must pay me on this spot' p.7, l.14.

EM agus mé ar mo leath-ghlúin ag séideadh na teineadh 'while I was on one knee blowing (lit. 'at the blowing of') the fire' p.51, l.26.

d'iarr (mé) ar an bhfear seo a shíneadh chugam 'I asked this man to pass it to me' p.22, l.21.

GG bhí ann leagan tuaghann le gualainn 'there was there, the laying of axes to the shoulder' p.109, l.19.

ní rún dúinn a aithris 'it is no secret for us to relate it' p.102, l.1.

Expression of Agent: Subjective Genitive

When the verbal noun is intransitive the adnominal genitive and the possessive pronoun express the noun and pronoun agent respectively.

Some examples follow:

- CG fri tasgrad cacha dámae 'against the arrival of every party' 188.
- ML iar foscaigiu inna aithe 'after the departure of the night' 21 c 3.
- VT tuidecht na creitme 'the coming of the faith' 801.  
atá du esergi 'that your resurrection is' 2241.
- LL gomba tadall morsluaig 'that it was a visiting by a great host' 8151.
- SBC do mhothaigh se techt mu Tigherna 'he perceived the coming of my Lord' 410.  
mar adubairt a imtechta fein uatha 'how He told His own going from them' 3354.
- BC a techt d'indisin scel don clerech 'that he should come (lit. 'his coming') to relate news to the cleric' p.210, l.13.  
do tairngiretar. . . tect Colaim cilli 'they foretold C.C.'s coming' p.26, l.21.
- TBB te ó fhiuchadh an uisce se 'hot from the seething of this water' 8784.  
tréna fhoghnaimh don Dúileamh 'through his serving the Creator' 1407.
- PB ar son a aiséirghe 7 a dhul ar neamh 'because of His resurrection and His going to heaven' 913.  
maille ré múine 7 teagasg na hEagluise 'with the teaching and instruction of the Church' 926.
- SB do tháinig crioth chos is lámh er an nduin'usal 'shaking of the hands and feet overcame the gentleman' p.6, l.17.  
is ortha a bhí an luacháir a bheith 'n-a dteannta aríst 'they were overjoyed that he was (lit. 'it is upon them there was the joy, his being') in their midst again' p.27, l.32.
- EM níor mhór dhom fios mo labhartha a bheith agam 'it was necessary for me to know what to say (lit. 'to have knowledge of my speaking')' p.33, l.1

shroicheas Oileán an Iolair le tuitim na h-oidhche 'I reached O. at nightfall (lit. 'with the falling of the night')' p.78, l.3.

GG ní hí sin m'iarraidh 'that is not my request (lit. 'my asking')' p.121, l.11.

tháinig a theachtair leis an scéala sin le lúí gréine 'his messenger came with that story at sunset (lit. 'with the setting of the sun')' p.96, l.30.

### Expression of Agent: Prepositions

The commonest preposition governing the agent of the verbal action is do; this is used at all stages of the language. Examples:

Wb ocit leu precept domsa seccu 'they are jealous that I preach rather than they (lit. 'preaching by me')' 23 b 13.

arropad maith limsa labrad ilbelre dúibsi 'for I should like you to speak many tongues' 12 c 29.

act cuit a scribint domsa it domini som immurgu 'except in their having been written by me they are the Lord's however' 13 a 23.

M1 ni techtae totmugud dosuidib 'it is not right that they should please (lit. 'a pleasing by them')' 43 a 11.

it ilsailm hi tadbadar foisitiu a pecthae do duaid 'there are many psalms in which is shown the confession of his sins by David' 32 b 18.

Is airi asbeirsom a epert doib 'therefore he says that they said it' 31 b 17.

VT ar chreitem donaib ingenaib 'when the maidens had believed' 1153.

ó tchúas do Pátraic gabail brattán dó fon n-indas sin 'since it was related to Patrick that he had caught a salmon in that manner' 984.

iarna eráil fair do Loígaire 'after its enjoining upon him by L.' 1492.

LL can arigud do Láeg 'without Láeg's perceiving' 9118.

iar ndergud a ríg leptha dóib 'when they had gone to their royal bed' 7552.

raid dam cia de bad fherr latsu mochoscursa 7 mo chommaidimse dósom oldás a choscursom 7 a chommaidimsium damsa 'Tell me if it is preferable to you, my defeat and overthrow by him, to his defeat and overthrow by me' 9214-6.



PH ba he fotruair tidecht do'n tsaigit foreulu 'it was he who caused the arrow to come backwards' 6312.

im adrad hin idail do'n abbaid 'concerning the veneration of the idol by the abbot' 572.

SBC acht fuireachadh i n-a socht di 'but she remained silent' 255.

ar n-eisdecht bhriathur in aingil don righain 'when the queen had heard the words of the angel' 291.

bís aga pianadh don tribloid 'which is being tormented by the trouble' 6088.

BC ar n-eirghe do 'when he arose' p.46, l.4 IV.

ar ngabail culuidhech an aifrind uime dó 'when he had donned the Mass vestments' p.54, l.13 V.

arna tabairt da dainib leo 'when it was taken by people with them' p.44, l.11.

TBB ré mbeith fíréanta dhó 'upon his being righteous' 1387.

ar bhfaghail bháis do 'upon his dying' 5839.

mar cheannach ar a fagháil do mhnaoi dhó fein 'as a price for getting her for himself for a wife' 10932.

PB ar suighe dá mathaibh 'when their highnesses had sat down' 272.

ar n-a dhéanamh so dhóibh 'when they had done this' 644.

SB er úmpó dhóibh 'when they turned' p.23, l.13.

er chloisint di na n-éan a'ceiliúr 'when she heard the birds singing' p.21, l.33.

EM ag dul ar ais dom 'when I returned' p.77, l.26.

GG ag cromadh dó 'as he was bending' p.59, l.7.

### Expression of Agent by la/le

The agent of a verbal noun may also be expressed by la with the accusative; sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the instrument and the agent, as expressed by la. This usage is comparable to the

use of la introducing the agent of a verb in the passive.<sup>1</sup> Its latest occurrence in the texts is in TBB. Examples:

- Wb conarcoib diupart neich lelele 'so that there may be no defrauding of one by another' 16 c 24.
- AU loscud a termuinn co rici dorus a cilli la Feidhlimidh 'the destroying of its sanctuary up to the entrance of the church by F.' 832.
- LL déntar urnam bíd . . . lind 'let a preparing of food be done by us' 8248.
- ic teclaim 7 ic tinól cethri n-ollchoiced nHerend latsu 'at the mustering and gathering of the four great provinces of Ireland by you' 7746.
- PH déntar mo dichennad-sa lat-sa 'let my beheading be performed by you' 802.
- ic a pianad, ic a riagad la drungu demnu 'at their punishing, at their torturing by legions of devils' 8316.
- TBB is eadh fuair dá chionn, a dhícheannadh lé hIoruaith 'what he received because of it was his beheading by Herod' 1942.
- ar mbuain bheatha na hanma .i. ghrás nDé lé foghail an pheacaidh dhe 'after the taking away from him of the life of the soul, i.e. God's grace, by the devastation of sin' 1461.

#### Expression of Agent by ó

This usage is similar to that with la, in that ó with the dative is also used to introduce the agent of passives.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the verbal noun with its agent expressed by ó, Gagnepain suggests that this seems the rule with verbs of awarding, conferring, etc.; accordingly, the donor (introduced by ó) is distinguishable from the recipient (introduced by do), e.g. cen fochunn .i. frithoirene huad som do neuch 'without

<sup>1</sup> OIG 720; Gagnepain op.cit. p.18; Baudiš op.cit. p.411; Gnás p.113; see J.Fraser, ZCP VIII p.48 for a discussion of various uses of la in the glosses.

<sup>2</sup> OIG 720; Fraser, ZCP VIII p.54, suggests that the starting point for the verbal noun constructions with ó of the agent lies in phrases of the type commarí far ndígal huaimse 'in order that vengeance for you may happen from me' Wb 5 d 37; Baudiš, op.cit. p.411; Gagnepain, op.cit. p.18; Gnás p. 113.

cause, namely of injury from him to anyone' Ml 19 c 5.

The use of ó to mark the agent is not very common at any period and has almost disappeared in modern times. No examples seem to occur in the selected texts after BC.<sup>2</sup> However, O Cadhlaigh cites three later examples, from Keating, from an 18th century Ulster source, and from Canon Peter O'Leary's West Munster dialect<sup>3</sup>; these have been added to the following list:

- Wb airiten irisce do chách et airiten caich ó dia '(the time of) acceptance of faith by everyone and of everybody's acceptance by God' 15 d 23.
- AU loscadh Rechrainne o geinntibh 'the destroying of Rathlin by the strangers' 794.
- Ml trí thinnacul ho athraib ón 'through tradition from fathers' 97 a 10.  
is asse tabairt neich uaid 'it is easy to get a thing from him (lit. 'giving of a thing by him')' 129 a 8.
- PH do raidset dula uaim 'they said I should go (lit. 'going by me')' 446.  
ni rice a less Crist a fhortacht nach a fhóridin o ainglib 'Christ does not need to be helped by Angels' 4839.
- SBC do fech . . . tolladh a chinn on coroin 'she looked at the piercing of His head by the crown' 4375.  
is mo rigimsi a leas mu baistedh uaibh-si 'I have the greater need for my baptism by you' 1279.
- BC toirmesc ar n-a chur o Dia orra 'a hindering having been put by God upon them' p.404, l.21.
- FFE<sup>4</sup> iomad seod is maitheasa do thabhairt do Chormac . . . ó laighnibh 'much of goods and wealth was given to C. by the Leinstermen' 3141.
- TLC atá an té sin eagnaíde go fírinneach, agus air n-a mhúineadh agus air n-a theagasc níos mó ó Dhia nó ó dhaoineibh 'That man is truly wise and (he has been) taught and instructed more by God than by men' 71.
- Sg ar na déanamh mín ó Dhia 'having been refined by God' 3.

<sup>1</sup>op.cit. p.125.

<sup>2</sup>Gagnepain's latest examples are from PH.

<sup>3</sup>Gnás p. 113.

<sup>4</sup>The examples following are taken from Gnás p. 113.



## The 'Infinitival' Construction<sup>1</sup>

With this construction the nominal subject or object of an action precedes the verbal noun which is governed by the preposition do. The case of the subject (i.e. with intransitive or passive verbs, or with adnominal genitive object of verbal noun) or object is determined by its function in the principal clause, and the verbal noun which follows does not affect it. In Irish this construction is an approximate equivalent of an infinitive.

Vendryes (BSL 50. 12 ff.) postulates the following development of the infinitival type on the basis of a parallel evolution in sentence structure. An old construction ro indis dó Coind Culaind amal ro boi H. 4.22 no. 1363 later becomes ro innis dó Cú Chulaind amal ro boi LU 4025, 'he told him how C.C. was'. The change which has taken place is that Coin Culaind, which is the accusative object of ro indis in the former, has been replaced by Cú Chulaind now felt to be the nominative subject of the subordinate clause. By analogy, the infinitival phrase could have been developed in this manner; ni guid digail / do thabairt foraib might have been re-analysed as ni guid / digail do thabairt foraib 'he prays not that punishment should be inflicted on them' Ml 42 a 4, since the verbal noun possessing neither mood, tense, or voice easily merged into a group with the noun in construction with it.

In Latin, the accusative and infinitive construction developed from a shift in meaning; the noun or pronoun which in the historical period was felt to be the subject of the infinitive was originally the object of the verb, e.g. sentio eum / venire > sentio / eum venire. The same type of construction has arisen in Irish by a similar process. Examples:

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 720; J. Fraser, "A Use of the Verbal Noun in Irish," Miscellany presented to Kuno Meyer, Halle, 1912, 216 ff.; Baudiš, loc. cit., C 405 ff.; Gagnepain op. cit., Type 3, p.18, passim; O. Bergin, Stories from Keating's History of Ireland, Dublin, 1930, see Introduction where he cites ni toil liom na fileadha d'fhastódh 'the poets for retention are not will with me', i.e. 'I am not willing to retain the poets'; T.F. O'Rahilly, Desid. p. 262, Type A; Graim. par. 511, Type 1A, arbhar a cheannach. The development do > a, a dh' (before vowels and lenited 'f') in the dialects is to be noted.

Transitive Verbs: Infinitival Construction

(1) In Nominative Case-Relation:

- Wb ní date leu in coimdiu do chrochad 'it is not agreeable to them to crucify the Lord' 8 a 6.
- VT boí ní bad toisigiú dún andás biad do dénum duit 'there was something more urgent for us (to do) than to make food for you' 117.
- LL rapo chóru damsa fálti d'fherthain fritsu 'it were more just for me to extend a welcome to you' 10372.
- PH is ed is lat-su, Símon do trasrad 'your part is to vanquish Simon' 1831.
- SBC is cóir duin tosach ar saethuir do thinnsuin 'it is right for us to start the beginning of our work' 147.
- BC dob ferr an t-olc do sechna 'it would be better to avoid evil' p. 188, 1.7.
- TBB is córaide dhúinn iomorra an cholann do choimneas ré harthrach 'it is juster for us to compare the body to a vessel' 2146.
- PB ní fiú é beannacht Dé d'fhágháil 'he is not worthy to receive to receive the blessing of God' 844.
- SB an bhféidir leat scéimh na h-óige a thúirt uirthi? 'can you give her the complexion of youth?' p.9, 1.38.
- EM níor chall dom an dara buille a bhualadh 'I did not have to strike the second blow' p.19, 1.18.
- GG b'fhurast an lá a aithne 'it was easy to recognise the day' p. 12, 1.4.

(2) In Accusative Case-Relation:

- Wb ciadcobrinne moidim do dénum ní boí adbar híc 'though I should have desired to boast there were no cause híc' 17 d 17.
- M1 cocarad chainnimu du denum 'that he loved to do good deeds' 14 a 8.
- VT co coimsam in tairgerthairig d'égad 'that we may be able to see the Bridegroom' (ut possimus Filium nostrum Sponsum videre) 1149.
- LL dús in fagbaind mo lama do fhuligud 'to see if I could get my hands blooded' 8568.
- PH atbertsat . . . a thengaid do thescad 'they said to cut out his tongue' 2550.

- SBC nir caigill briathur da burba do rad 'he did not spare the saying of a word no matter how bitter' 2577.
- BC nar deonaigh Dia dó fein a mallugad ina a sliot in a diaid do mallugad 'that God did not permit his cursing or his descendants after him to be cursed' p.26, 1.32.
- TSB léigidh dona marbhaibh na mairbh d'adhnacul 'let the dead bury the dead' (dimitte mortuis sepelire mortuos) 1527.
- PB ní spáralann sé a mhac ná fós a bhean do theilgion annsa teine 'he does not spare his son nor yet his wife from throwing into the fire (lit. 'his wife for throwing')' 1421.
- SB do theastuig bhuaig rogha a bhuint as mná óga na cúige 'he wished to select a choice from the young women of the province' p.12, 1.24.
- EM chaithinn cúntas a chur chuige gach seachtmhain 'I had to send him a report every week' p.32, 1.31.
- GG níor chleacht sí ariamh greim a bhreith ar a céill 'she was never accustomed to take a hold of her senses' p.21, 1.3.

### (3) In Genitive Case-Relation:

- M1 manibad ferrsom de tre aesnadud inna diglae do thabairt foraib 'if they do not improve through delay in the infliction of punishment on them' 24 c 1.
- VT is [s]i tucait in charpaitt do breith co Fiacc 'it is the reason of bringing the chariot to Fiacc' 2857.
- LL do thetarrachtain a chind do bualad 'in order to succeed in striking his head' 10741.
- PH cia thechtaid diabul aice áilces cech uile do dénum 'though the devil possesses the desire of doing every evil' 4025.
- SBC ingantus in aingil d'fhaicsin 'the wonder of seeing the angel' 232.
- BC co raibe se fein 7 a ben 7 a cland a nguasacht bais d'fhaghail 'that he and his wife and family were in danger of death' p.318, 1.8.
- TBB sás a n-uaille do chlódh 'method of lowering their pride' 698.
- PB timpchioll cócuireacht 7 big d'ollmhúghadh don chorp 'concerning cookery and the preparation of food for the body' 1208.



SB é mbun léin 7 eolais a thúirt do 'he being occupied with giving him learning and knowledge' p.3, 1.34.

EM ag iarraidh foighde agus céille a chur ionnta 'trying to put patience and sense into them' p.46, 1.7.

There seems to be no example with the genitive in this construction in GG (See asyntactic infinitival construction, p.105).

(4) In Dative Case-Relation:

See Verbal Noun Constructions with prepositions, *infra* p.85ff.

(5) Relative Infinitival Construction:

In this case a relative particle is the virtual (subject or) object of the action expressed by the verbal noun. Examples:

CG cis lir ata chora[i] do rí do giull for a thúatha? 'what are the numbers which are just for a king to pledge over his territories?' 505.

Wb is sí inso fedb as uisse do goiri in aeclis ar chuit óisa et bésa 'this is the widow whom it is just to maintain in the church as regards age and morals' 28 d 24.

ML air is ed as dulem dúm do engnu, in stoir 'for it is the history that is most desirable for us to understand' 14 d 7.

VT in tinid atchonnarcaisthi do todail . . 'the fire which you saw being emitted' 222.

LL in tochastulsain rabert Conchobor riss do denam 'that march which Conor told him to carry out' 11589.

PH i nd-amus ndofulachta na coemsam d'fhulang 'into unendurable temptation which we cannot bear' 7962.

SBC med chreidimh na mna so, feda do tarrung 'the amount of this woman's faith, (upon) which you can draw' 2270.

BC togh fein an bas as ail let d'fhagail 'choose (for) yourself, the death which you wish to get' p.52, 1.14.

TBB is é ollmhughadh is fearr dhó do dhéanamh 'it is the preparation which it is best for him to do' 133.

PB mórán peacuidhe . . . budh chóir dóibh do sheachnadh 'many sins . . . which they should avoid' 1507.

- SB sin rud na féidir lium-sa a dhéanamh 'that is something which I cannot do' p.19, 1.7.
- EM goidé ba cheart dóibh a dhéanamh 'what was right for them to do' p.63, 1.7.
- GG sin rud nár dhual do bhean Dálach a dhéanamh 'that was something which was not in keeping with what a woman of the O'Donnells should do (lit. 'which was not hereditary for a woman . . . to do')' p.101, 1.22.

#### Intransitive Verbs: Infinitive Type

When the infinitival type of construction<sup>1</sup> is used with intransitive verbs, the subject is followed by do governing the verbal noun. This construction is found throughout the history of the language. Examples:

- CG iar cath do madmmain forru 'after they have been defeated in battle' 517.
- Wb uisse in boill do áss ón chiunn 'it is proper for the members to grow from the head' 22 a 17.
- ML ni fiu leu bás naill du techt forru 'they do not deem it fitting that another death should come upon them' 139 c 3.
- VT inda leis Coithrige do thiahtain isteach 'it seemed to him that Patrick came in' 221.
- LL is geiss dúib maccaem do thiahtain in far cluchi 'it is taboo for you that a youth should come into your game' 8336.
- PH atfét Eoin lub-gort do beth ann-sin 'John said that there was a garden there' 3017.
- SBC ac fuirech re haimsir an aingil do techt 'waiting for the time of the angel's coming' 2414.
- BC tareis dimais na hoige do dul tarann 'after the pride of youth has gone from me' p.54, 1.17.
- TBB nach éidir éin-spréidh do theine na hantóile do mharthain 'that no spark of the fire of great desire can live' 390.

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<sup>1</sup> corresponding to O'Rahilly's Type E, an fear do theacht, Desid. p.263 and Type 5B Graim. par. 511 fear a shiúl.

- PB is cómharta rath mhór do theacht ar na torrthaibh[é] 'it is a sign of the coming of great productivity upon the crops' 2067.
- SB a n-onóir do Mhóirín agus do n-a triúr leanabh a theacht 'in honour of the coming of M. and her three children' p.17, 1.41.
- EM b'aisteach an rud rúnaidhe . . . a dhul ar cuairt 'it was a strange thing that a secretary should go on a visit' p.21, 1.17.
- GG gan an simléir a bheith a tiontó anuas 'not to have the chimney (to be) turning down' p. 44, 1. 22 (2).

### Infinitival Construction with Independent Pronouns<sup>1</sup>

The older usage of the verbal noun preceded by a possessive pronoun subject or object has been replaced in various positions by the infinitival construction with the independent pronoun in Modern Irish. The earliest examples noted so far<sup>1</sup> are in the Passions and Homilies, but in each case there is another word intervening between the pronoun and the preposition with the verbal noun, e.g. dia fheta nech iat dib-linaib do denum . . . ; mani cumaic nech imorro iat a ndis do dénaim 'if one is able to do them both . . . ; if however one cannot do the two of them' PH 4967; mé m'oenur do dhul i mbás 'that I alone should go to death' PH 401.

O'Rahilly has observed that when this construction is used in Desid. the independent pronoun is always emphatic or is used with féin, i.e. mise do mholadh, mé féin do mholadh'. Out of nine examples noted in SBC, eight have emphatic pronouns, e.g. madh ail let misi do sgar 'if you wish me to stop' 679, as opposed to one non-emphatic, e.g. is i mo thoil tu do tobairt lat 'it is my wish to take you off'.<sup>2</sup> Fourteen instances observed in BC comprise eleven emphatic, e.g. as coir . . . esiun do gradhugadh 'it is right to love him' p. 288, 1.29, and three without emphasis, e.g. gen gorab fiu mesi tu d'ésteacht rim 'although I am not worthy that You should listen to me' p. 18, 1.12;

<sup>1</sup>First example noted by Gagnepain, op. cit. p. 194; the other (Types D, G) by O'Rahilly, Desid. p. 264.

<sup>2</sup>But the text may be corrupt here. The use of lat is curious here, since one would expect liom, as the editor has observed, SBC p. 226, n. 104.



Keating uses both forms but with a preponderance of the emphatic also, e.g. ní foláir . . . é féin do bheith san ghrádh 'it is necessary that he should be in the love' TBB 5279; do-ghéana tú iad do mhalairtiughadh 'you will make them change' (*mutabis eos*) 9939. In PB and the later texts emphatic and non-emphatic forms seem to occur as the sense of the context requires.<sup>1</sup>

### Transitive Verbs: Infinitival Construction with Objective Genitive

In this construction the subject is followed by do plus verbal noun with objective genitive or possessive pronoun object<sup>2</sup>; it is found throughout the period of the selected texts but seems to be rare in contemporary Irish. Examples:

- Wb ar is insae in ball do thinchosc neich asberad cenn 'for it is impossible that the member should correct what the head might utter' 13 a 19.
- ansu liumsa ind ois anechtair dia fhius 'it seems more grievous to me that the outland folk should know it' 16 d 12.
- Ml acht inti bed tressa do fordiuclaim alaili 'but whoever is stronger should devour the other' 19 d 5.
- cluasa dae diarneitsecht 'the ears of God to hear us' 24 a 18.
- VT Crist dom imdegail 'may Christ protect me' 3204.
- LL ba níth mór la Fergus óen do maidim thechid fri Coin Culaind 'F. resented it greatly that anyone should reproach C.C. with running away' 9256.
- PH is ed doforne sin, trócaire Dé do fhortacht in duine 'what this signifies is, that the mercy of God succours man' 7094.
- Diabul dia rád fri hÍsu 'that the Devil should say it to Jesus' 4917.
- SBC ader Matha . . . in Tigherna do slanughadh fir na paralisi 'that Mathew says that the Lord healed the man sick of the palsy' 1670.

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<sup>1</sup> See Desid. p.263 for examples from bardic verse of non-emphatic pronouns *metri causa*.

<sup>2</sup> O'Rahilly's Type H, an fear do mholadh na mná or an fear dá moladh, Desid. p. 264; Graim. Type 5 A, mo leanbh a fháil bháis, Dia dár sábháil, par. 511.

ar eglá an mhi-dochais da cur amugha 'for fear of despair putting them astray' 921.

BC is duine ecin do duthchasaibh an baile sin Gartán is coir do thochailt na criadhse 'it is some one of the natives of that village of Gartán who should dig this soil' p.52, l.14.

do iarr ar Dia gan an plaid sin da lenmhain 'he besought God that the plague might not follow him' p.62, l.15.

TBB tig an duine do dhéanamh peacaidh 'it comes that man commits sin' 2350.

gurab cinnte dhó an bás dá rochtain 'that it is certain for him that death will reach him' 410.

SB mara mbéach tusa a bhuint an clipe sin as mo lapa 'were it not that you took that hake-fin out of my flipper' p.73, l.34.

#### Transitive Verbs: Infinitival Construction with Agent introduced by Preposition

When the virtual object of the verbal action precedes the verbal noun in the infinitival construction, the agent may be introduced by the prepositions do, ó, and la. As is the case with the verbal noun and the verbal noun phrase containing an objective genitive (See p. 66 ff.), the introduction of the agent is effected by the prepositions do, la, and ó.

The construction with do is found from the Old Irish period onwards.<sup>1</sup> It does not seem to occur in the Ulster dialect text (see "True Infinitive Usage" below), and in the contemporary modern language this type seems to be confined to verbal noun phrases corresponding to temporal clauses (i.e. introduced by tar éis 'after', le linn 'while', roimh 'before', etc.).

There appears to be only one example of the syntagm in the Würzburg glosses, e.g. is dil laee maith do dénum dúibsi 'it seems dear to her that ye should do good' Wb l4 a 37. Gagnepain has taken this to be a mistranslation and says that it is not an example of do with the agent, but means '... that it may do you good' or the like.<sup>2</sup> On the

<sup>1</sup>Baudiš, loc. cit. p. 411; O'Rahilly, loc. cit. p. 265; Grain. par. 529.

<sup>2</sup>op.cit. p. 102.

strength of this reinterpretation he denies the existence in Old Irish of a construction of this type. However, another example may be seen<sup>1</sup> in the Old Irish Table of Penitential Commutations, i.e. etar na arre ata corai do denam doib 'between the commutations which may be properly performed by them' Ériu XIX p. 60, par. 7. This text "can hardly be later than 800 A.D." according to the editor D. A. Binchy.

Examples with ó and la introducing the agent are comparatively rare. They are found in late Old Irish, but ó is not found after PH in the selected texts and la is of sporadic occurrence only although surviving in TBB. Examples:

A.U. Dubinnrecht do ghuin la Laighniu 'D. wounded by the Leinstermen' 817.

Cella Locha Eirne . . . do dilguinn o geinntibh 'the Monastery of Lough Erne . . . destroyed by the heathen' 836.

MI huare nadnacat hi freondaire gnímu cosmaili du denum du Christ 'because they do not see Christ do like deeds at the present' 93 d 14.

VT níbu gnáth in focul sin do rád duitsiu 'it were not usual that that word be said by you' 2043.

A.U. Ard Macha do argain . . . o na Gallaib 'Armagh plundered by the Norsemen' 942.

Cloiothech Sláne do loscudh do Ghallaibh Atha Cliath 'the Belfry at Slane burned by the Norsemen of Dublin' 949.

Dub . . . do marbad la hAlbanchu 'Dub . . . killed by the Scotsmen' 966.

LL nechtar de longphort 7 dunad do gabail d'fheraib Herend andsin 'neither camp nor fort to be taken by the men of Ireland there' 9096.

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<sup>1</sup>At the same time this phrase might be interpreted 'which it may be proper for doing for them' (see CG example supra (5) p. 72), but at all events the editor has taken it as do with the agent.



- PH atchualumair-ne or siat adamra in choimded do labrad do na hapstalaib 'we heard' they said 'the miracles of the Lord being recounted by the apostles' 5390.
- in David rúnda Ísu Crist do fhoidiud o'n athair nemda do thórruma a brathar 'the secret David, Jesus Christ being sent by the heavenly Father to attend to His brethren' 4905.
- SBC dob e adbhur na gruamdachta so do conmhail don Athair 'the reason for the retaining of this displeasure by the Father, was . . . ' 3143.
- gan mu Mac do marbhadh libh 'that my Son be not killed by you' 3731.
- BC gan bás ar bith d'fhagail don tí agé mbeith se 'that no kind of death would be experienced by the person who would have it' p. 92, l. 5.
- TBB gan toirmeasg do chur ar ghrásaibh d'fhagháil don mharb 'not to put a hindrance on the acquiring of graces by the dead' 5076.
- lé ndéantar an duine do bhreódh leis 'with which is effected the enfeebling of man by it' 2405.
- PB acht párlament na hurnaighthe seo do rádh do gach aonmhnaoi aco 'an Act of Parliament that these prayers be said by each woman among them' 1012.
- SB t'reis na luinge a dh'fhágaint do 'after he had left the ship' p. 44, l. 12.
- t'reis di gach eile dhuine a dh'fhisgint 'after she had seen every other person' p. 75, l. 3.<sup>1</sup>
- EM sgathamh gearr tar éis dom an seic d'fhagháil 'a short time after I had got the cheque' p. 73, l. 35.

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<sup>1</sup>Note the inverted word order, where do plus agent is put at the head of the syntagma in the two last examples.

### True Infinitive Usage

In Ulster Irish (as in Scottish Gaelic) a real infinitive usage has developed, and instead of either of the two constructions above, i.e. an fear do mholadh na mná and an bhean do mholadh don fhear, there is found the type an fear an bhean do mholadh where moladh is now a true infinitive and the whole syntagm is a unit. Examples:

TLC sí is buaidh iomlán ann, neoch buaidh a thabhairt air féin  
'complete victory comprises, a person gaining victory over himself'<sup>1</sup> p. 237.

GG go rabh a croidhe ró-bhrúichte le í na deora a fhágáil léithe  
'that her heart was too deadened for her to let the tears flow' p. 5, l. 6.

le linn Conn na focla seo a rádh 'while Con was saying these words' p. 104, l. 10 (2).

### Negation of Verbal Noun and Verbal Noun Phrases

(1) The early language uses a prefix neb- (before vowels and voiced consonants), neph- (frequently before voiceless consonants), in composition with the verbal noun to negate it (OIG 126). This is later written nem-, neamh- and is still current in Irish as a noun-prefix with negative force. This neb- comes from IE \*ne followed by some form of the verb 'to be' according to Pedersen (VgK II 8), but Thurneysen considers the second element to be of obscure origin (OIG 874). It is found in the selected texts up to the period of PH with the two types of verbal noun phrase, i.e. molad na mná and in ben do molad. The latter type is not found in LL. The use of nem- in Old and Middle Irish is rapidly superseded by the use of the preposition cen 'without' which may function as a negative (see below) when introducing verbal nouns and verbal noun phrases.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Bergin, op.cit. Introd. for this mid-18th century example; Grain. par. 537.

<sup>2</sup>See example cited by M. Joynt, Contrib. N-O-P, p.29, l.4, where earlier nemh- is replaced by cen, i.e. ba himned la F. nempacallam ina hingine 'Fróech was grieved not to converse with the maiden' ZCP IV 38. 4 becomes ba imned la Fráech cen acallaim inna ingine TBF 155, without change of meaning.

The sporadic occurrence of neamh- with a verbal noun in later texts may be seen, e.g. a los neamhchoiméada chreidimh na Tríonóide 'because of not retaining the belief of the Trinity'<sup>1</sup> TBB 5269. Examples:

Wb cech réit arrarogartsom do nebdénun et a forchongair do chomalnad 'not to do everything he has forbidden and to fulfill what he orders' 5 c 23.

Ml nephdenun neich di ulc fri nnech dogní olc frit 'not to do aught of evil to anyone who does evil to thee' 23 c 20.

nephthoimtiu bed peccad són 'non-imagining that it is a sin' 43 a 15.

LL ní ebairt riu a chathim 7 ní ebairt a nemchathim 'he did not say to them to eat it, he did not say not to eat it' 7673.

PH 7 Ioseph do nemfágbail innte 'and not finding Joseph there' 3698 (20)

is do thimnaib rechta Moysi nemthomailt fheola muc 'it is (one) of the precepts of the Law of Moses not to eat pork' 6542.

(2) The preposition cen 'without' (originally 'this side of') is used in Irish to give negative meaning to a verbal noun or verbal noun phrase. Cen may have this force "when the verbal noun is used in what is virtually the equivalent of a subordinate clause" (OIG 827; 875).<sup>2</sup> The usage is still current in the contemporary language, and at all periods the verbal noun is negatived with cen, never ní or na, which are exclusive to finite verbal forms. (See also Verbal Noun Constructions with Prepositions infra p.85ff) Examples:

Wb cid atobaich cen dílgud cech aneiridi 'what impels you not to forgive every injury?' 9 c 20.

is ingir lem cen chretim dúib 'it is pitiful to me that you do not believe (lit. 'non-belief to you')' 4 b 28.

<sup>1</sup>See Gagnepain, op. cit. p. 277, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Fraser, ZCP VIII p.10; Baudiš, ZCP IX p.395; G. Dottin, Manuel d'irlandais moyen, Paris 1913, p.266; O'Rahilly, Desid. pp.265-6; Bergin, TBB, see gan Vocab.; Gagnepain, op. cit. 52; 159; 273; Ó Cadhlaigh, Gnás par. 109; Grainm. par. 515.



- M1 ba trom foraib s6n cen t6chtain a t6ire fadesin 'it was heavy upon them that they should not go to their own land' 34 d 12.  
is fresmacht in mrechtraid inna nule ndoine cen soinnmigi 7 doinnmigi do tecmung du cech 6in d6ib 'it is contrary to the law of the chequered lot of all men that prosperity and adversity should not befall every one of them' 90 c 27.
- VT is osnad do muintir Patraic cen a tabairt cucu 'it is a grievance to Patrick's people that it was not given to them' 891.
- LL geis fair . . . cen chomrac n-oenfhir do fhuacra 'it is a geis upon him not to proclaim a duel' 8621.
- PH ata s-an aithne-si gan creidium do chrandchuraib 'there is in this commandment (an injunction) not to believe in casting lots' 7315.  
co n-epert Andrias do crochad 7 cen cl6i do chor . . .  
 'and he said to crucify Andrew and not to put nails . . .'  
 2438.
- SBC is coir duine gan serbis do genumh 'it is right for us not to do service' 1664.
- BC do athain do Baithin 7 da mhanchaib, gan iad fen do d6namh manaigh dhe 'he enjoined upon B. and his monks not to make a monk of him' p. 172, l.34.  
do iarr air gan bas do lecen docum a serbfhogantaidhe fen  
 'he asked him not to allow death to his own servant' p.264, l.30.  
do troisc C.C. re D6a . . . fa gan digbhail do denum da braithribh fen 'C.C. fasted before God, that He might not cause hurt to his own kin' p. 180, l. 32.
- TBB n6 headh amh6in gan an b6s corpordha do dhol i ndochar dona fireanchaibh 'not alone does corporeal death not harm the just' 2703.

- TBB mar a n-abair ré duine gan craos do dhéanamh 'where he says to one not to commit gluttony' 2008.
- PB déinig faire . . . chum gan tuitim a ttemptáision 'watch lest ye (lit. 'in order not to') fall into temptation' 788.
- SB is trua er seisean gan tusa do bheith mar mhnaoi agam 'it is a pity' he said 'that I have you not as my wife' p.74, l.33.
- an tarna cúirle anis, gan gabháilt a n-aon chûngar . . . an triú cúirle gan rod a dhéanamh anucht 'the second counsel, not to take any near way . . . the third counsel not to do a thing tonight' p. 26, l. 6.
- EM dubhairt sí liom gan é a dhéanamh 'she told me not to do it' p. 17, l. 10.
- bhí ordú agam . . . gan aon deis a thabhairt 'I had an order not to give any opportunity' p. 88, l. 8.
- GG ní leigeadh sí aon lá thart gan Dia a ghuidhe go dúthrachtach 'she let no day pass that she did not pray God earnestly' p. 24, l. 23.

### Syntactic Functions of the Verbal Noun<sup>1</sup>

In Old Irish the verbal noun may be used in the following constructions:

- (1) an independent phrase usually expressing a command, a wish, or a phrase of exclamatory nature, e.g. cedono tuidecht friss 'why then go against Him?' (quid ergo resistere ei?) Wb 6 a 4; a dula dano 'let us go!' I.T. III l.189.
- (2) statements, in the annals especially, where the subject is the logical object of the verbal noun. In general the nominal sentence

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<sup>1</sup>The words 'verbal noun' implies the verbal noun phrase as well in this context. The continued history of these functions is demonstrated by Gagnepain's collections; his chapter headings correspond approximately to the above usages. See op.cit., passim; Baudiš, loc. cit. 381 ff.; Gnás 74; 123 ff.; see also examples supra, 62 ff.

introduces a new fact and then this is explained by a verbal sentence or by another nominal sentence, e.g. indred deisceird Breg leis aitherrach in Kalendis Novembris, co torchair sluagh dimor leiss 'the south of B. was attacked by him again on the first of November and a huge host fell by his hand' AU 821; ro bo inti forchain . . . 1 precept do chách . . . .i. bad hi forcitul .i. a chomalnad condib desimrecht do chách 'either he that teaches . . . or preaching to every one, . . . i.e. let it be in teaching, that is, to fulfil it so that he may be an example to every one' Wb 5 d 10.

When the explicative phrase is in apposition, it takes the same case as its subject, e.g. gu tarfas fis amra dho .i. a breith d'feghadh nimhe 'a wonderful vision was granted him, i.e. his being brought to see heaven' RC XIV 30, par. 13; here fis in the nominative has a brith in apposition to it.

(3) as part of a sentence the verbal noun may stand in all positions in the sentence. After verbs of commanding, wishing, etc. it corresponds to a modal finite verb, e.g. do futhrisse a buith im gnáis féin, ara hireschi 'I could wish that he were with myself because of his faithfulness' Wb 32 a 9.

#### Genitive of the Verbal Noun as Adjectival Attribute<sup>1</sup>

In Irish the genitive may be used to qualify another noun and in prose the attributive genitive always follows the noun it qualifies, e.g. epscoep Aedáin 'Bishop Aidan (lit. 'of A.')' (OIG 250). This construction has its origin in Indo-European where the adnominal genitive was attached to the noun as a qualifying adjective elucidating its nature. In the particular examples where the genitive indicates intention it is used with a verbal noun. The use of the genitive of the verbal noun as a qualificatory genitive is - as Thurneysen has pointed out - "more common in Irish than in other languages". The genitive of the verbal noun may be used without an

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 250; Baudiš, op.cit. 388; Vendryes, RC XXXVII 327 ff.; MSL XVI 247 ff.; Graim. par. 504.



object, e.g. altan berrtha 'a razor for shaving' or it may have a following objective genitive. This latter construction may be participial or relative in function; it can supply the equivalent of a Latin gerundive, e.g. immacubur denma uile 'a strong desire to do evil' Ml 34 b 10. A common Irish usage is this construction used as the equivalent of a compound noun. In modern Irish this idiom may be found with the infinitival phrase in genitival case-relation; thus (1) cailín deas crúidhte na mbó 'the pretty girl who milks the cows' may be expressed (2) cailín deas na mbó do chrúdhadh without change of meaning. Examples:

(1) CG scena búana áine 'knives which cut (lit. 'for cutting') a reed' 177.

Wb fer birithe lésboire 'the man who carries the lantern' 25 d 3.

Sg fer dénma baigine 'the man who makes the loaf' (pistor) 184 b 3.

VT fer fuaslaicthea gial 'a man who releases hostages' 306.

LL aithesc cungeda neich o neoch 'a speech which seeks something from somebody' 8485.

PH lucht sáraigthe na n-aithned 'people who violate the commandments' 7305.

SBC lucht denta an inneachaidh 'the folk who wreak vengeance' 5564.  
ar n-a fhaicsin sin d'fhir graduighthe na genmnaidechta, 7  
d'fhir claite na n-aibirseoradh 'when the man who loved chastity and the man who subdued the devils saw that' p.224,1.28.

TBB fear iomchuir sgéithe Sauil 'the man who bears Saul's shield' 2450.

SB cúl cosanta na cléire 'the pillar which protected the clergy' p. 38, l. 44.

EM lucht déanta poitín 'people who make poteen' p. 68, l. 14.

GG fear chanstan an cheoil 'the man who sings the music' p. 102, l. 20. (2).

The infinitival construction in this specific meaning is of much rarer occurrence although the syntagm is found as early as PH, e.g. áilces cech uile do dénum 'the desire to do every evil' 4026.

Examples:

(2) TBB ceard chorcán do dhéanamh 'a craftsman who makes pots' 313.

SB locht craois agus dí a dh'ól 'people who are greedy and who drink' (drink) p. 58, l. 37.

### Genitive of the Verbal Noun as Complement of Adjectives

In Old Irish certain adjectives meaning 'capable of, ready to', etc. are followed by the genitive of the verbal noun (OIG 250.2), e.g. combi tualaing saintrebtha 7 gabála(e) se(a)lb 'until he is capable of separately farming and acquiring estates' CG 78; am irlam techte martre cach dia 'I am ready to go to martyrdom every day' Wb 13 c 8.

Later Irish does not continue this usage; cf. the uninflected verbal noun in LL, nídam tualaingsea a nimdeogail 'I am not capable of protecting them' 11434, and the use of the prepositions fri and do respectively, in PH is- am urlam-sa fria fuisitin 'I am ready to confess it' 596, and in SBC is fullumh misi da coimhlinadh 'I am ready to fulfil it' 4145.

### Verbal Noun Usage with Prepositions

Some of the more important functions of verbal noun phrases in construction with prepositions may be noted.<sup>1</sup>

(1) The preposition do 'to, towards' with verbs of motion supplies the equivalent of a Latin or Slavonic supine.<sup>2</sup> This type has survived until modern times in Ulster Irish, but ag is used in this context in

<sup>1</sup>No account is taken here of those prepositional functions where the preposition governs the verbal noun or phrase as it would an ordinary noun; the examples following are those which might be replaced by a subordinate clause with a finite verb.

<sup>2</sup>Baudiš, loc.cit. p. 391; Gnás pp. 136-7; S. O Searcaigh, Coimhréir Ghaedhilg an Tuaiscirt, Dublin, 1939, par. 93.

Munster and Connacht. This use of ag in PB may be observed in the following examples:

- Wb amal dotéitside do gabáil báigüil 'as he comes to seize his opportunity' (lit. 'danger') 25 b 28.
- VT luid a muime do blegon na bó 'his foster-mother went to milk the cow' 153.
- LL dot acallaim tanac ó Meidb '(it is) to confer with you that I have come from Maeve' 8946.
- PH in tan do chuaid in rí is-in usce di-a baitssed 'when the king went into the water to be baptized' 465.
- SBC do chuaidh Muire da fis do genumh gairdechuis ocus fritholmha di 'Mary went to see her to rejoice, and to serve her' 385.
- BC is dá tabairt sin duit tanuc-sa aniugh 'it is to give you that, that I have come today' p. 128, l. 3.
- TBB go ndeachaidh do ghleic ré hEarcuil 'that he went to struggle with Hercules' 179.
- PB an tan do thug sé . . . ordúghadh dhó gluaiseacht . . . a'tōriughiocht an traotúra laidhil et dá threasgairt 'when he gave him the order to go and hunt down the traitor Lyle and to squash him' 53.
- SB raghadsa isteach ag fiosarú m'athar 'I shall go in to look for my Father' p. 77, l. 2.
- EM chuadhas ag obair 'I went to work' p. 82, l. 2.
- GG nach dtáinig . . . a amharc ar an chruinniú 'who did not come to look at the gathering' p. 16, l. 22.

(2) (a) The preposition do is found in the selected texts introducing phrases which may be the equivalent of final clauses<sup>1</sup>; this is not found after Keating. Examples:

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<sup>1</sup>Fraser, ZCP VIII p. 18 ff.; Baudiš, ZCP IX p. 391; Gagnepain, op.cit. p. 43 ff.; p. 134 ff.; Ó Cadhlaigh, Ceart na Gaedhilge, Dublin 1922, par. 96 (e); par. 309.



- CG acht ní rofoíter uilec dia guin 'provided that unsuitable persons (lit. 'bad') have not been sent to slaughter it' 550.
- Wb irgala firinne diarndítin 'arms of righteousness to defend us' 15 d 39.
- M1 dlúith side didiu cen muir dia etarscarad fochosmailius inse 'it is compact then, because there is no sea to separate it like islands' 89 d 18.
- VT do rigni tri chóecta psalm do admolud in choimded 'who made one hundred and fifty psalms to praise the Lord' 1997.
- LL go mbaí far cobraid sceith Fhir Diad . . . do thetractain a chind do bualad 'so that he was over the rim of Ferdia's shield in order to strike (lit. 'encompass the striking of') his head' 10737.
- PH cia mod fil latt do díchur eladan draidechta an fhir-sea 'what means have you to dispel this man's magic art?' 1177.
- SBC gumadh imchubhaidh i do fhritholamh an Mhic sin agus da timtheracht i n-a esbadhaibh 'so that she might be worthy to serve that Son and to minister to His needs' 323.
- BC ataim-si agad am ridire . . . do cathughadh 7 do comrac tar do cend 'you have me as a knight to fight and to do battle on your behalf' p. 48, l. 33.
- TBB na boicht bhíos lán d'álghus 7 d'accobhar dona sealbhaibh saoghalta dá rochtain 'the poor who are full of longing and desire that the world's goods may reach them' 10000.

(2) (b) To express finality with a verbal noun dochum > chum > chun, chuin 'towards' originally requiring a following genitive, appears in PH and occurs sporadically in SBC where do is far more common in this function; Keating does not use dochum at all in TBB for stylistic reasons. This usage has superseded that with do (see (a) supra) in the two Munster texts PB and SB. (See p. 50 for the distribution of

chum denoting prospective aspect in periphrasis with the substantive verb and the verbal noun.) Examples:

- PH chum neith d'fhágabail co hól 'to get something badly' 7716.
- SBC docuadur na tri Mhuire . . . do cendach arromata chum cuirp  
in Tigherna d'uindimindtegh 'the three Maries went to buy  
spices in order to annoint the body of the Lord' 4699.
- BC\* ar cur uisce 'sa coire docum na feola do bruith 'when water  
was put in the pot to boil the meat' p. 186, l. 10.
- PB sin agad sgáthán chum tú féin do cheartúghadh dá réir 'there  
is a mirror for you to correct yourself accordingly' 188.
- SB do tháinig an t-amm chuinn na cnáibhe do chuir er a mhinéal  
'the time came to put the rope on his neck' p. 38, l. 25.
- GG nuair a tógadh a aigneadh chun machtnamh ar fharsaingeacht...  
'when his spirit was raised to meditate on the breadth . . .'  
p. 89, l. 20.

(2) (c) A conflation of various prepositions fri 'against' > re<sup>1</sup>  
and la 'with' may express finality; this type is introduced by le<sup>2</sup>  
only, in the modern dialects. Examples:

- Wb seciphé dán tra doberthar do neuch bad fri cumtach necolso  
immabera 'whatever then be the gift that shall be bestowed  
on anyone, let it be for the edification of the church that  
he employs it' 13 a 3.
- VT techt do Roim Leatha fri foglain n-ecnai 'to go to Rome to  
learn wisdom' 241.
- LL cach ed immateiged re tesitin fola na míled 'everywhere he  
travelled to shed the blood of the warriors' 9697.

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\*Note dochum with adjective in BC, do bi se aibrisc docum aighte  
do tabairt d'aes eladhna 'he was prone to give hospitality to artists'  
p. 120, l. 34.

<sup>1</sup>Fraser, loc.cit. p. 41; Gagnepain, op.cit. p. 68; p. 168;  
Ó Cadhlaigh, Ceart, par. 309; Gnás, p. 138

<sup>2</sup>le frequently replaces a < do in the 'supine' usage in Ulster  
Irish. See Ó Searcaigh, CGT par. 94: similarly in Connacht example  
from EM.

- PH do nertad a apstal fri fulang fochaide 7 ingrema 'to strengthen his apostles to endure tribulation and persecution' 1611.
- SBC do iar ní re a chaithemh orro 'He asked them for something to eat (it)' 5251.
- BC an began frith re na scribad andso sis di 'the little of it that was found to write it down here' p. 6, l. 5.
- TBB nach faghaid biadh ré a fhromhadh 'that they do not get food to taste (it)' 6246.
- PB luíghead na haimsire chathas réna tabhairt chum na gairbhohríche so 'the small amount of time I spent in order to bring it to this rough conclusion' 230.
- SB ní raibh airigead aici le túirt do 'she had not money to give to him' p. 48, l. 20.
- EM chuaidh mo mháthair . . . amach le na bleaghan 'my mother went out to milk her' p. 7, l. 14.
- GG nach dtiocfaidh tú chugam ar ais le cian a thógáil díom 'will you not come back to me to take away (my) sorrow?' p. 4, l. 10.

(2) (d) The prepositions im / fá 'about' are confused in Middle Irish and either may be used without difference of meaning; this usage may function as the equivalent of a quasi-final clause after verbs of beseeching, praying, etc. The selected texts furnish no examples for the modern dialects. Examples:

- Wb a nno ngeiss cách imma chomalnad 'when thou beseechest everyone for its fulfilment' 30 b 4.
- Ml iarsindí dobroigasa im mess firían do brith for cach 'after I had chosen you to pass righteous judgement upon all' 103 c 15.
- VT ro gáid Eúgan inní Pátraic im thodíuscad a shenathar 'E. besought Patrick to resuscitate his grandfather' 2126.



- LL conattect Medb fhiru Herend im nech díb dó chomlond . . .  
ra Coin Culaind 'Maeve asked the men of Ireland that one of  
 them should engage C.C. in combat' 9917.
- PH ro-guidius he im a throcaire do thecht form 'I besought Him  
 that His mercy should come upon me' 2786.
- SBC do guidh Pilaid e um a foillsiughadh do 'Pilate besought Him  
 to reveal it to him' 3775.
- BC denam ar triur troscadh re Dia fan comairli as ferr do seoladh  
duinn 'Let the three of us fast before God that He may send the  
 best counsel to us' p. 322, l. 12.
- TBB maille réna impidhe do chur ar an rígh fa shaor-dháil do  
tabhairt dó 'along with requesting the king to give him  
 freedom' 4496.
- PB días mac Zebedeus, noch do athchuingidh Dia fá dhuine dhíobh  
do shuídhe ar a láimh dheis 'Z's two sons who asked God that  
 one of them might sit on His right hand' 2773.

(2) (e) The preposition ar 'for' with the verbal noun may express  
 purpose in Old Irish<sup>1</sup>; this type does not seem to occur after the  
 LL Táin in the texts.<sup>2</sup> Examples:

- CG it hé ata chórai do buith i foit-siu thaige rígh ara choim-  
thecht 'they are they who should be on the right side of  
 a king's house to accompany him' 584.
- ML cia duberat argat daitsiu ara soirad 'though they give money  
 to you for their deliverance' 73 d 12.
- LL co ndigset i fedaib . . . ar imgabail fer nHerend 'that  
 they may go into the woods to avoid the men of Ireland' 8013.

<sup>1</sup>Gagnepain, op.cit. p. 174; Fraser, loc.cit. p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>apart from BC, e.g. do threig se beatha an tsaogail ar a  
smuaintighib do beith 'he forsook the worldly life to be thinking'  
 p. 4, l. 8.

(2) (f) Compound prepositions denoting purpose formed from i and fa with comhair 'presence' occur in some of the selected texts from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. Examples:

SBC ataim ag labhairt rit-sa go muintirda fo comuir h'aicechta d'faghbhail 'I am speaking with you lovingly in order to leave your lesson' 112.

TBB is eadh do-nídis na Bactri coiléin óga do bheathughadh d'aon-toisg i geomhair chorp na marbh do chognamh 'what the Bactri used to do, was to rear young whelps on purpose in order to chew the bodies of the dead' 5706.

EM bhíodar ábalta ar iad féin a ghléasú fá chomhair dráma a léiriú 'they were able to equip themselves in order to produce a play' p. 44, l. 24.

In the LL Táin the following compounds with ar may be noted as denoting purpose: dias . . . ferroeglass . . . ar dáig dogonasu 'a pair who were chosen (?) in order to kill you' 11184; ar bith gona Conchobuir 'to kill Conor' 12180.

In modern Irish<sup>1</sup> various compounds of the type d'fhonn, a d'fhonn is 'in order to' (lit. 'for inclination') occur in this final usage, e.g. mhar uíos leanabh gan baiste a d'fhonn is a bheith a m'chéile sagairt 'I killed an unbaptized infant in order to be a priest's wife' p. 81, l. 17.

SB. /

(3) (a) The counterpart of a causal clause may be expressed in Old Irish by a verbal noun introduced by ar 'for'.<sup>2</sup> This does not seem to occur in the texts after the glosses. Examples:

Wb is tri deoladacht didiu ronoíbad ní ar chomalnad recto 'it is through grace then that he has been sanctified, not for fulfilling (the) Law' 2 b 26.

<sup>1</sup>Ó Cadhlaigh, Ceart, par. 309.

<sup>2</sup>Fraser, p. 6; Gagnepain, op.cit. p. 63 ff.

M1 ar buid doib du reir dae 'because they were subject to the will of God' 96 b 3.

(3) (b) di 'of' which is confused with do 'to' at an early stage, may be found denoting cause in early Irish,<sup>1</sup> e.g.:

CG di fhorcur a mná 'on account of the violation of his wife' 124.

Wb attlugud boide do dia dibar nícc tritsom 'giving thanks to God for your saving through Him' 27 c 2.

(3) (c) The preposition tria / tre 'through' may be found with causal function when introducing verbal noun constructions. It does not seem to be in the texts after PB. (It is attested in this context in some grammars of Modern Irish.<sup>2</sup>) Examples:

Wb ronfitirni cach tre chretim dúib-si 'everyone knows us because you have believed (lit. 'through belief by you')' 15 a 8.

M1 adchess rúndatu taichnidsiu a dae .i. tri tuditin popuil tri muir robur 7 huare romsa ugaire doib 'the mystery of Thy nature, O God, was seen, i.e. through guiding the people through the Red Sea and because Thou wast a shepherd unto them' 96 d 1 (Note the causal clause co-ordinate with the tri phrase here).

PH in aire atathai dam-sa, ol se tria chorp Isu d'iarraid for Piláit 'is it for this that you have a grievance against me for asking the body of Jesus from Pilate' 293l.

SBC ata fos gairdechus mor orm tre nbur faicsin 'I rejoice greatly then because of seeing You' 2748.

BC ba dubach . . . an t-oclaoch de sin, tre gan a fhiss do beith aicce cred do imdigh ar a mnai 'the man was sad on account of that, because he did not know (lit. 'through not having its knowledge') what had befallen his wife' p.266, l.26.

<sup>1</sup>Fraser, loc.cit. p. 16; Gagnepain, op.cit. p. 70.

<sup>2</sup>Fraser, ZCP VIII p. 61; Gagnepain, op.cit. p. 57; p. 166; p. 295; see p. 297 where he considers this usage to have disappeared from contemporary Irish; Ó Cadhlaigh, Ceart par. 303 (1); Gnás, p. 127.



TBB mar do thuit Saul ... leis na Filistíneachaibh tré gan a  
choimhead féin san chuing do chuir Dia air 'how Saul fell at  
 the hands of the Philistines because he had not kept himself  
 under the yoke which God had put upon him' 2422.

PB maithfeachas d'íaraidh ar Dhia tré fhearg do chuir a[i]r, agus  
párdún d'íaraidh ar an bpobal tré dhrochshópla dothabhairt  
dóibh 'to ask God for pardon for making Him angry, and to ask  
 the people for pardon because of giving them bad example' 3557.

(3)(d) ó 'from' with verbal noun constructions may be found denoting  
 cause; this does not seem to occur in a clearly definable context<sup>1</sup>  
 before PH and seems to disappear after TBB. Examples:

PH ro-bennachad tu o churp Crist do beth innut 'you have been  
 blessed because the body of Christ is in you' 2445.

SBC goirfidhir t[hu]ed luaigidhecht abus ocus o sduider t'urnaighthi  
... chum na gloiri suthaine tall 'you shall be called because  
 of your merit here and because of the cultivation of your prayer  
 to the eternal glory beyond' 2340.

BC oir do len se Crisd in a bethaid o thoil ... 7 o smeroidighib  
tendtighe a grada do beith in a croidhe go comraigthech 'for  
 he followed Christ in his life from will and because of the  
 glowing coals of His love being steadfastly in his heart' p.4, l.10.

TBB a mhionca do-chuaidh neach i n-olcaibh ó chonách 7 ó onóir  
shaoghalta dá rochtain 'how often man has deteriorated because  
 wealth and worldly honour has come to him' 8322.

(3)(e) The prepositions im / fa 'about' may be used in a causal sense  
 with verbal nouns. Examples collected range from the LL Táin to TBB,  
 with some also in EM.

LL fer rat sháraig im trib maccaib Usnig do marbad far th'einech  
'a man who outraged you because he killed the three sons of  
Usnach in violation of your honour' 12250.

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<sup>1</sup>Fraser, loc. cit. p. 54; Gagnepain, op. cit. p. 73; p. 158; Dottin,  
 op.cit. par. 427.

- PH oc thuirsi thruim fa Isu do beth i mbroit 'in great sorrow because of Jesus's being captured' 2751.
- BC do línadh ni budh romhó ina sin iad do luthgair ... fana hathbeugad doib 'they were filled with joy all the more, because he was restored to them' p. 74, l. 1.
- TBB nach dleacht do neach doirbheas dá ghabháil fá Dhia do dhéanamh a dhiola fein da chréatúir 'it is not lawful for a man that discontent should fill him because God has done His own will with His creature' 8594.
- EM ní raibh muinntir Roscomáin sásta liom fá imtheacht uatha 'the people of Roscommon were not pleased with me because I left them' p. 87, l. 3.

(3) (f) Various compounds made up of a preposition and a noun such as ar son, do cend > do chionn > chionn, do thoisc, de bhárr, etc. appear in modern Irish and indicate cause; these may be used with a verbal noun instead of a causal clause with a finite verb.<sup>1</sup>

Examples:

ar son

- SBC do rinnidur na hídhaill tathaeir ar an mbocht ar son a leapta do beth ar a muin isin tsaboit 'the Jews passed a censure on the sick man because his bed was on his back on the Sabbath' 2422.

- BC go tibrad Dia an oired sin d'onoir do ar son Colaim eilli do beith ar enslict ris 'that God would give him so much honour because C.C. was of one race with him' p. 26, l. 4.

do cend, chionn / cionn is

- BC do-dena Dia an uiret-sa do dighaltos ort-sa do cind gan gradha do tabairt aniugh damh 'God will wreak this much vengeance upon you because you did not bestow orders upon me today' p. 64, l. 18.

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<sup>1</sup>See Grain. par. 712 for others of this type.

PB do-chuala <bhair gur> malluígheadh cam do chionn maga do dhéanamh faona athair féin 'ye have heard that Ham was cursed because he jeered at his own father' 1739.

7 a admháil ... gur chionn bheith 'na bhithiúnach do chaill sé a shúile 'to admit that it was because he had been a thief he had lost his eyes' 1921.

For cionn's see Gnás, par. 148.

a ttaoibh, a dtaobh

PB párdún d'iarraidh ar an bpobal a ttaoibh drochshómpla do thabhairt dóibh 'to ask pardon of the people because of having given them bad example' 1924.

SB sí an bhainntireach bhocht a bhí ... go baoch do bhean a'leasa a dtaobh leigheas a gearachaile do thuirt di 'it is the poor widow who was grateful to the woman of the lios for giving her the cure of her little girl' p. 68, l. 37.

do thoisc, toisc

TBB go gcailltear cheithre sochair ... leis an duine do thoisc an bháis dá rochtain 'that man loses four advantages because death comes to him' p. 29 (small print l. 3).

SB ba mhath leis a bheith a'siúl témpal, tuisc é bheith 'n-a stróinséir 'san áit 'he liked to be walking around because he was a stranger in the place' p. 80, l. 15.

de bhárr

EM mar ní raibh mé i ndon dada ithe de bhárr mo dhinnéara fhéin a ithe 'because I was not able to eat anything because of having eaten my own dinner' p. 29, l. 2.

(4)(a) The equivalent of a temporal clause may be expressed in Irish by prepositional verbal noun phrases introduced by iar-n- > ar 'after'.



This ar denotes simultaneity with beith.<sup>1</sup> Examples:

- CG cia be[i]th rí im choire iar ndul triit 'though a king be about a cauldron after it has leaked' 549.
- Wb is i crist beimmi iar techt innonn 'it is in Christ we shall be after going yonder' 21 b 7.
- M1 iar taidbsin a chosmailsea fri mmac nimlisen do adbat cosmailius naile 'after he has shown its likeness to the pupil he sets forth another likeness' 39 c 22.
- VT fecht dó iar tuidecht for Berrnas ... co torchair i mBúail 'one time after coming over B. he fell into the Boyle' 1655.
- LL see example p. 65.
- PH iar ngabail abbaine do Mharcellinus tainic Petar 'after M. had received the abbacy Peter came' 651.
- SBC ar ndul do Mhuire asteach ... do bennaigh di 'after Mary went in she saluted her' 401.
- BC ar ngelladh a brethe fen dó amlaidh sin, tainic cuca 'when his own terms had been promised to him thus, he came to them' p. 164, l. 26.
- TBB iar dtréigean Sodoma do Lot gur chomhnaigh i gcathraigh bhig 'that after Lot left Sodom he lived in a little city' 10107.
- PB 'ar n-a dhéanamh so dhóibh tiucfam' ar Sadhbh 'lé haimsir chum bheith ní as foghlamtha ná na fir 'when they have done this' said Sive 'we shall come in time to being more learned than the men' 644.
- SB is er chasa dhóibh do bhuail an bhean óg ... leó 'and when they were returning they met the young woman' p. 18, l. 43.

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<sup>1</sup>Fraser, ZCP VIII p. 43; Gagnepain, p. 60; p. 150; p. 261; Ó Cadhlaigh, Ceart par. 87; Graim. par. 529 c ii; Ó Searcaigh, CGT par. 98; par. 285.

(4) (b) tar éis 'after' may replace iar in phrases similar to those above. In this construction it first appears in the texts in SBC and occurs in all of them except the Ulster GG. Examples:

SBC uair do eirgidur na fir ... tar eis Dhaibhidh do scour 'for the men arose after David had finished' 5504.

BC an rann dorinde se fen tareis a dul ar deoraidhect a n-Albain do (the verse he made himself after he had gone in exile to Scotland' p. 84, l. 13.

TBB aneith ré samhluigheann Mártain naomhta Ádhamh tar éis an pheacaidh do dhéanamh 'that to which St. Martin compares Adam after he had committed the sin' 2551.

PB <sup>críche</sup> tar éis do chur ar a raibh do ghnóthaibh aco an lá sin, 7 tar éis fógairt dóibh bheith ag an ccúirt ... tug Sadhbh an chómhairle so dhóibh 'when the business they had for the day had been completed, and after she had notified them to be at the castle, Sive gave them this advice' 670.

SB see examples p. 78.

EM tar éis teacht' amach dom as an bpríosún do chuadhas i gcionn mo chuid oibre 'after I had come out of prison I went about my work' p. 81, l. 6.

(4) (c) co 'until' may precede a verbal noun and equal a temporal clause. This type of phrase does not appear to be in the texts after TBB.<sup>1</sup> Examples:

Wb cia airet co tíchtin nanocríst 'how long (it will be) until the coming of anti-Christ' 25 d l.

PH co taidecht in spiruta noib forru 'until the coming of the Holy Ghost upon them' 5411.

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<sup>1</sup>Fraser, loc.cit. pp. 10-11; Gagnepain, op.cit. p. 159; Ó Cadhlaigh, Geart par. 290; Gnás p. 129.

SBC co dul Crist isin Eighipt 'until Christ went into Egypt' 6042.

TBB ó thig anam ann go fagháil bháis dó 'from the time life comes into him until he dies' 321.

In phrases of the above type the expression of the agent seems to be required, i.e. subjective genitive, or do.<sup>1</sup>

(4)(d) re n-, roimh 'before' with the verbal noun may supply the equivalent of a temporal clause.<sup>2</sup> Examples:

Wb fides ... ro bói la abracham re comallnad rechto faith 'which Abraham had before fulfilling (the) Law' 2 c 15.

LL is andsin ra gabastarsom a chatherriud catha ... inmi re tiachtain do Choin Chulaind dá shaigid 'then he put his battle attire on before C.C. came to meet him' 10685.

PH rofhetutar fota ria ngenamain Crist co ngenfed 'they knew long before Christ was born that He would be born' 6999.

SBC do-rinde seisin sólas doibh re n-imthecht 'He consoled them before going away' 2823.

tamall roimh a tabairt amach 'a while before it was given out' 1537.

BC do tairrngiretar draithe Conaill Gulban ... techt Colaim cille ria na genemain 'the druids of C.G. prophesied C.C.'s coming before his birth' p. 30, l. 8.

TBB anois ré n-imeacht dó ní fhuil sé do bhreith leis ... acht an eisléine 'now before he goes he takes with him only the shroud' 2817.

<sup>1</sup>Gagnepain, op.cit. p. 268; Bergin, TBB, Vocab. (2) go C p. 435.

<sup>2</sup>Fraser, loc.cit. pp. 59-60; Gagnepain, op.cit. p. 72, p. 156, p. 267; O Cadhlaigh, p. 129.



- (4) (e) ré linn > le linn 'while' with verbal noun constructions indicates simultaneous action and may replace a temporal clause.<sup>1</sup> This first occurs in modern Irish; the following examples are from the seventeenth century onwards:

- TBB aní léagthar ... ar an ngnáthughadh bhíos ann ré linn Phápa do dhéanamh 'what is read of the practice that is (followed) while a pope is being elected' 416.
- PB .i. an peacach do bheith a ngrásaibh Dé ré linn na húrnaighthe do dhéanamh 'i.e. the sinner should be in God's grace while praying' 2854.
- SB le lín Dochtúir Céitin a bheith a seirbhís na h-eaglaise, do mhair taoiseach ... a n-iarthar Chiarái 'while Keating was in the ministry of the church, there lived a chieftain in West Kerry' p. 37, l. 38.
- EM le linn dul isteach i mbéal an bhaile dhom 'as I was going in through the outskirts of the town' p. 58, l. 8.
- GG See example *supra* p. 79.

- (4) (f) oc > ag 'at' with verbal noun phrases may be found in a function equivalent to that of a temporal clause indicating simultaneity; oc > ag is never found with beith, ar < iar supplying for it in this specific usage. This is very rare in the dialects; Ó Cadhlaigh cites one example from Canon O'Leary's Aesop, i.e. ag cur an bhóthair de dón asal 'as the donkey was travelling along the road' 14, while no examples have been noted in the selected texts (but see ag in Participial Construction *infra* p.115 ).

Examples:

- M1 dia luid duaid for longais tri glenn Iosofád da mbidc Semei di chlochaib oc a techt 'when David went into exile through the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Shimei pelted him with stones as he went' 58 c 4.

<sup>1</sup> Gagnepain, *op.cit.* p. 239 for other examples from Keating; Ó Cadhlaigh, Ceart, par. 292 says this construction is "used to replace sentences in the passive voice with finite verbs"; *ibid.* par. 291; Gnás pp. 132-3; Graim. par. 529.

- VT oc dul do Pátraic sair do Themraig ... dobert bendacht for Conall 'as Patrick was going eastwards to Tara he bestowed a blessing upon Conal' 779.
- LL in crandord dogníid cachá nóna ic tiachtain dó ar ammus a liss 'the roaring he used to do every evening as he went towards his enclosure' 8879.
- PH is aire-sin din chanait sloig ... (.i. do'n anmain), ic escómlad di as in churp 'therefore indeed hosts sing to the soul as she is departing from the body' 8137.
- SBC ocus ag sibhal na slighedh le ceile doibh do fiafraigh Muire Magdalena: 'and as they were walking along the way together Mary Magdalen asked:' 2739.
- TBB aois an Tighearna ag críochnughadh na hoibre se don ughdar, 1631, an dara lá do mhí December 'the second day of December in the year of the Lord 1631 as the author concludes this book' p. 1.

(4) (g) Some other prepositional phrases with the verbal noun denote temporality and correspond to some of the types treated above, e.g. ó 'from', i ndiaidh 'after', d'éis 'after', etc.

(h) A verbal noun phrase of the type with agus / (gan) followed by the agent preceding ag which governs a verbal noun may be used instead of a temporal clause indicating simultaneity; such a syntagm is found at all periods of the language.<sup>1</sup> This phrase is sometimes better translated as a co-ordinate 'and' clause which also indicates contemporaneity of events. Examples:

- M1 dobertis cech n-olc 7 fochaid form os mese oc taircitol  
cech maith doib-som 'they used to inflict every evil and tribulation upon me while I was prophesying every good to them' 54 c 30.

<sup>1</sup>M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, *ÉC III* p. 265; Gagnepain, *op.cit.* pp. 140-1; Ó Searcaigh CGT par. 287, remarks that this type frequently replaces type (f) above, e.g. ag teacht isteach do Sheamus bhí an madadh ag an doras and bhí an madadh ag an doras agus Seamas ag teacht isteach 'as James was coming in the dog was at the door'.

- VT is an sein ro rádi Pátraic frisin mnáifúine 7 sí oc tergorud  
a maicc 'then Patrick said to the cook while she was fondling  
 her son' 2182.
- LL do bithsiu ar bantincur mnaa 7 bidba na crich ba nessom duit  
oc breith do shlait 7 do chrech i fuatach úait 'your being  
 under woman's control while the enemy of the territories  
 nearest to you, were snatching your spoils and your plunder  
 from you' 7557.
- PH ata én ingen cruthach ocumm, ol se, 7 sochaide oc a cunchid  
 'I have one fair daughter' he said, 'and hosts are seeking  
 her (hand)' 7204.
- SBC mar do bheth neach eatartha ag gabháil a ionair uime, ocus  
iad-san ag dúnadh a mhuinchilleadh 'as though someone were  
 between them putting on his tunic, while they were fastening  
 his sleeves' 219.
- BC fuataratar an cerrbach a taibeirne ag ól luacha an buind 7  
se ga tabairt dá gach duine 'they found the gambler in a  
 tavern drinking the value of the goat as he gave it to  
 everybody' p. 76, l. 22.
- TBB mar sin don duine ... 7 é ag loingseóireacht i n-oidhche  
na hurchóide 'it is likewise for man while he is sailing  
 in the night of iniquity' 736-9.
- PB do-chímíd caile na brón ag cur síoda 7 sróill ... uirthe  
7 a fear annsa mbaile [ag] fuadh bhróg nó fós a' grafa  
 'we see the quern-maid putting on silk and satin while her  
 husband is at home sewing shoes or yet hoeing' 530.
- SB do bhí siopa acu agus iad a' déanamh go math 'they had  
 a shop and they were doing well' p. 52, l. 9.
- EM bhí an ghrian ag dul faoi agus mé ag díriughadh ar an  
mbaile 'the sun was setting as I turned towards home'  
 p. 16, l. 23.



GG nár bh é an saol mór a bhí do-choseartha ag gabháil thart mar bhí sé riamh agus gan é ag déanamh iontais ar bith di  
'was it not the great world that was indissoluble, going around as it always was, while it made no wonder of her at all' p. 23, l. 29.

### The Verbal Noun in Asyntactic Constructions<sup>1</sup>

The tendency of the verbal noun from the Middle Irish period onwards is towards independence; in modern Ulster Irish this is fully carried out in the "true infinitive" usage when the entire verbal noun phrase comprising the subject (or agent), object and verbal noun stands asyntactically as an indeclinable syntagma (see above p. 79), e.g. dúirt sí an fear an bhean do mholadh 'she said the man should (lit. 'she said the man to') praise the woman'.

Asyntaxis may be observed in verbal noun constructions logically governed by nouns or prepositions; instead of the expected oblique case-relationship, there is nothing grammatically joining the verbal noun phrase to the rest of the sentence.

A simple and early example of the growth of the "disconnected verbal noun phrase" may be seen in the development of the phrase with cen into a single indeclinable syntagma<sup>2</sup>; in the classical language of the schools non-declension of the noun after gan was the rule with the infinitival construction. This appears in Late Middle Irish, e.g. cen na huilc sin do dénum 'without doing those evils' PH 8121; here the accusative uile would have been expected instead of the nominative uilc.

A further extension of this tendency to form an autonomous unit may be observed in the use of a preposition before a negative verbal noun phrase,<sup>3</sup> e.g. tre gan anmain ris 'through not waiting for him'

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<sup>1</sup>Bergin, Stories from Keating's History of Ireland, Introd. pp. xiv ff.; O'Rahilly, Desid. pp. 267-9.

<sup>2</sup>G. Murphy, DF III pp. 8-9, for this and other examples.

<sup>3</sup>O'Rahilly, *ibid.* notes this as the earliest observed occurrence of this construction, from the 14th century Caithréim Toirdhealbháigh.

ITS XXVI 135; this kind furnishes a model for an indeclinable verbal noun phrase introduced by a preposition.

Another type of indeclinable verbal noun phrase, also introduced by a preposition, was that with the independent pronoun as the first element in the infinitival construction (see above p. 74), e.g.

gan issi do genumh ghail 'that she should not weep' SBC 675; maille ré hé féin do thabhairt cúitighthe uaidh 'along with his giving recompense' TBB 4344. This type likewise presents a prototype for analogical asyntaxis when a noun replaces the independent pronoun.

One of the devices employed to avoid such asyntactic constructions was the use of a proleptic pronoun which gave the verbal noun syntagm the function of an explicative phrase in apposition, e.g. cúimnig gan a fhulang dot chomarsain ... drúis do dénum 'remember not to suffer (it) your neighbour to commit adultery' PH 7450; nir urasa leo a leicen dó, an t-aifreand do tindscna 'it was not easier to them, to allow him (it) to begin the mass' BC p. 54, l. 16.

This proleptic pronoun may also be a component of a prepositional pronoun along with the preposition which logically introduces the verbal noun phrase, e.g. oir nir coiscricc tu an soightech reme an m-bainde do cur and 'for you did not bless the vessel before (it) putting the milk into it' BC p. 300, l. 15; fuair o Dia saegal Branduibh do gerrugadh tríd gan comairli na naemhsa ... do gabail 'who had obtained from God that B.'s life should be shortened because he had not taken the counsel of these holy men.' BC p. 214, l. 6.

However, an intervening word or more between a verbal noun or phrase which should be in the genitive and the noun (or phrase or preposition which governs it) frequently leaves the former undeclined<sup>1</sup> e.g. gach lá saire er a fhuil cengul o'n eclais a onorugud mar in dómnach 'every holiday on which there is obligation by the church to honour it as a Sunday' PH 7393 XXXIV. Here four constructions

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<sup>1</sup>O'Rahilly, *Desid.* p. 267, gives two or three other examples from later texts. The example quoted above is the earliest one noted by Gerard Murphy; see DF III p. 55 for this and other examples of asyntactic verbal nouns.

possible which would bring a onorugad into grammatical relationship with cengul: (1) to put a onorugad into the genitive case, (2) to use a preposition, e.g. fá before the verbal noun phrase and thus bring it into an oblique case, (3) to use a proleptic pronoun with the preposition in (2) and thus form a prepositional pronoun, thereby allowing a onorugad to remain in the nominative, and (4) to use a possessive proleptic pronoun before cengul which would obviate the asyntaxis of the following verbal noun logically governed by it.

When one of the above means is not employed, asyntactic verbal noun constructions result, e.g. SBC dul ... chum an adlaicthe a n-dochus an corp do beth ann 'to go to the tomb in the hope that the body would be there' 4925; BC gan suil aice a fhaicsin go bráth aris 'that she had no hope of seeing him ever again' p. 408, l. 34; ac tindsca an proind do bí n-a fiádnúise do roind ar cach 'beginning to serve the meal which was before him to all' p. 296, l. 30; TBB is é is fáth don fháidh na briathra so do rádh 'it is the reason that the prophet says these words' 9516.

Such constructions with asyntaxis<sup>1</sup> are very frequent in contemporary Irish after such words as cead 'permission', fonn 'desire', etc., and after verbs and phrases which were followed by a preposition in the older language, e.g. guidim ... fá<sup>2</sup> 'I beseech', tá súil agam ... ré<sup>3</sup> 'I hope to', etc. A few examples of guidim without a preposition follow (see p. 89 for grammatically correct usage): guidim tu me fein do baisedh maille riú 'I beseech you to baptize Me along with them' SBC 1276; guigim sib-si mo phecaidh do maithemh damh 'I beseech You to forgive me my sins' SBC 1839; guidhim tu, a hucht an día da credinn tú an taispentas tugais damh do ceilt orm 'I beseech you, for the sake of the God in whom you believe to conceal from me the vision you have granted me' BC p. 80, l. 29; guidhim tu-sa mádha taisbenadh radarc ar bith duid an uair úd, a indisin damh fen 'I beseech you if any vision

<sup>1</sup>Murphy, DF III p. 55; O'Rahilly, Desid. p. 268.

<sup>2</sup>In SBC eighteen positive examples have been excerpted which are asyntactic, the verb guidim being used without a preposition; seven occurrences have been noted of this verb with fa, one with um and one with mu.

<sup>3</sup>See BC example above.



was shown to you that time to relate it to me' BC p. 238, l. 30.

In the modern dialects the verbal noun phrase has achieved complete autonomy in Ulster Irish. In Connacht the "true infinitive" has not developed, but in constructions of the infinitival type, the syntagm, object (or subject with intransitive) followed by do and the verbal noun, is overwhelmingly asyntactical,<sup>1</sup> e.g. ag iarraidh éolas d'fhagháil uatha 'trying to get knowledge from them' EM p. 6, l. 13; i ndon obair éifeachtach thairbheach a dhéanamh 'able to do effective useful work' EM p. 86, l. 6 as opposed to the older i ndon oibre tairbhighe a dhéanamh 'able to do useful work' p. 82, l. 8.

In the Munster texts asyntaxis is the exception; it is very rare in PB, e.g. t'rēas sealbh do ghlaca a bpasáistibh na ccéadfa 'after gaining a hold in the channels of the senses' PB 2208. Occasional occurrence may be observed in SB where the prepositions ar tí and chun which govern the genitive are followed by a nominative,<sup>2</sup> e.g. go raibh sé er tí díobháil do dhéanamh do 'that he was on the point of doing him harm' SB p. 30, l. 34; tá mac a' rí ohuin pósa 'the king's son is about to marry' SB p. 16, l. 15.

### Participial Constructions with Nominal Forms of the Verb

#### (1) The Present Participle Construction

The verbal noun when governed by oc > ag 'at' expresses contemporaneous action and as such serves as the equivalent of a Latin present participle<sup>3</sup> (OIG 720). This usage is attested at all stages during the history of the language. Examples:

CG a guin inna dí chúlaíd dano, oc teichiud a rrói 'if he is wounded in the nape of the neck indeed, while fleeing from the battle-field' 538.

<sup>1</sup>Approximately fifty-five occurrences of this syntagm EM would grammatically require to be in oblique case-relationship to the material logically governing it; out of these fifty examples are out of syntactic connection.

<sup>2</sup>See DPIK par. 249 for other examples from the Irish of the Blaskets, of autonomous verbal noun phrases noted by M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval.

<sup>3</sup>This however does not always obtain and frequently these forms are translated by a temporal clause, e.g. fidentes a nnutorasnigtis 'when they trusted' Ml 62 b l; Gagnepain treats of the translation of Latin participial forms, op.cit. 25 ff.

- Wb forrodamar oc precept dúib 'which I have endured in preaching to you' 19 d 20.
- Ml amal duratsat sacaird tall bendachta forsin popul oc tuidecht tri muir robur 'as the priests had blessed the people at that time coming through the Red Sea' 82 c 8.
- VT tresna mirbuili do rigni Dáa trít oc todiúscad marb, oc glanad chlam, oc indarba demna, oc hícc dall 'through the miracles which God wrought through him, awakening the dead, healing the sick, casting out devils, curing the blind' 2019.
- LL ic fégað na maccaem ic imbirt ohless cluchi 'looking at the youths playing athletic games' 8302.
- PH in t-Ísu ro-crochsát-side, atconncumair-ne oc acallaim a apstal 'the Jesus whom they crucified, we have seen Him conversing with His apostles' 3701.
- SBC nir mothaighedar na hiaraind derga ag a snoighi ocus aga n-gerradh 'they did not feel the red-hot irons searing and cleaving them' 49.
- BC do tuigedh se-siun a n-urlabhra ag denam na tuirsi sin 'he used to understand their language, in expressing that grief' p. 194, l. 23.
- TBB mar adeir Ieronimus ag sgríobhadh go Paulinus 'as Jerome says writing to Paulinus' 340.
- PB na mór-chumaoín do chuir [ar] an tteangadh nGaoidheilge, ag bronnadh óir et airgid d'éigsibh 'the great favours he bestowed upon the Irish language, giving gold and silver to poets' 129.
- SB bhí na daoine a' féachaint air ag túirt aghaig amach er an bhfaraige 'the people were looking at him, setting out to sea' p. 79, l. 29.
- EM chualas an bhó ag géimnigh 'I heard the cow lowing' p.7, l.13.

GG d'innis sé an agéal daoithe ag baint de agus ag cur leis  
 'he told her the story taking away from it and adding to it'  
 p. 21, l. 1.

See also the constructions with 'oc' p. 99 (4) (f)

## (2) The Past Participle Passive

The past participle or verbal adjective (confined to transitive verbs), defines the state which is the outcome of the verbal action; it contains the IE -tio-, -tiā- suffix and it is inflected like the adjectival io-, iā- stems (OIG 714; 354). It is normally constructed with the copula in Old Irish but examples of its being used predicatively with the substantive verb already appear in Old Irish and are widely known in the literature from the twelfth century onwards.<sup>1</sup> As has been suggested, an extension of this usage to supply a periphrastic perfect may have occurred as early as the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The following examples illustrate (a) the earlier construction with the copula and (b) that with the substantive verb:

(a) M1 submersis gl. amtar mbati 'when they were drowned' 84 d 5.

invaso imperio .i. a mba n-indrisse 'when it was invaded'  
 18 c 14.

VT bid mallachta iā sil do bráthar 'your brother's seed will be cursed, however' 1261.

(b) Wb<sup>3</sup>

M1 céin no mbetis inna-sagtea tuidmíthi inn-a feuil nad conbiad  
ic do 'as long as the arrows were fixed in his flesh, there  
 would be no healing to him' 58 a 9.

<sup>1</sup>M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, *ÉC III*, see p. 272 for examples from PH.

<sup>2</sup>M. Dillon, *Language XVII*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup>Mme Sjoestedt-Jonval considers the Wurzburg example to be ambiguous, e.g. amal no mbemmis érchóilti 'as though we were destined' Wb. 9 a 3, *ÉC III* p. 272.



- Im.Br. ó robatar ind liss dúntai 'since the ramparts were closed'
- SBC ge ta se scailte o cuibrech a cuirp 'although he is freed from the fetters of this body' 2019.
- BC ni fuil scribtha oor fill se re n-a beó a n-Erend 'it is not written that he returned during his lifetime to Ireland' p. 376, l. 25.
- TBB an tan bhíos táith-cheangailte lé gníomharthaibh Dé 'when he is closely bound to the deeds of God' 8484.
- PB an uair do bhí an chúirt críochnuighthe 'when the castle was completed' 265.
- SB do bhí sí cortha ó bheith ag éisteacht leis an bhfear críona 'she was exhausted from (being) listening to the old man' p.76, l.6.
- EM bhí mo chuid éadaigh daithte le clábar 'my clothes were spattered with mud' p. 79, l. 26.
- GG bhí sé sínte ar an leaba 'he was stretched on the bed' p.39, l.23.

Phrases resembling those with agus ... ag and the verbal noun (see p. 100, (h)) may be noted with the verbal adjective but no collections have been made of these.

### (3) The Verbal of Necessity

This participle is frequently used to translate the Latin gerundive in the glosses; Thurneysen considers its probable origin to be "an old predicative dative of the verbal noun with the suffix -tei, -ti." It is used with the copula only and in uninflected.<sup>1</sup> The stem of this participle is for the most part the same as that of the past participle (OIG 717-8). In modern Irish, this is of infrequent occurrence

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<sup>1</sup>Exceptionally -ib forms are found in Ml. in an artificial dative plural formation, OIG *ibid*.

and is restricted to use with the negative copula.<sup>1</sup> Examples

- Wb níbo chomitesti dó acht ba léicthi iudici iusto 'he should not be indulged but he should be left to a just judge' 1 c 12.
- Wl duarbaid dia in déni as comallaidi a forgaire .i. in déni as mbuidigthi do ind fortacht immetrenaigedar 7 dumbeir 'God showed the speed wherewith His command must be fulfilled i.e. the speed wherewith thanks must be rendered to Him for the help which He assures and gives' 62 c 5.
- VT ní maíti dam-sa aní sin 'that is not a matter for boasting for me' 1311.
- PH adbur ele f'a n-a sechanta peccadh na drúisi 'another reason for which the sin of lust is to be avoided' 7453 (XXXIV).
- TBB ní séanta go dtugthar saor-dháil d'anmaibh na marbh (negandum non est defunctorum animas relevare) 'it is not to be denied that relief is given to the souls of the dead' 4508.

#### Expression of Aspect by Nominal Forms of the Verb in Periphrastic Tenses

See pp. 38-42; pp. 47-50 supra.

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<sup>1</sup>Grain. par. 550, cites examples for current Irish usage.

## CHAPTER IX

## NEGATION

Ní

In Irish the geminating negative particle ní, ní<sup>1</sup> always precedes its verb<sup>2</sup> (OIG 860). Class A infixed pronouns are usually found with ní. The confusion which might arise from the similarity of forms (since the -a of the pronoun is lost in ní < ní-a),<sup>3</sup> is prevented by the mutation of the verb, i.e. nasalization and lenition after the masculine and neuter pronouns respectively: ní (b)beir 'he does not carry', ní mbeir 'he does not carry him',<sup>4</sup> and ní bheir 'he does not carry it'. Movable ro follows ní in second position in the sentence (see p. 43 f. above), e.g. ni ruthogaitsam 'we have not deceived' Wb 16 a 22. Later this becomes nír > níor, a form still current in the dialects of modern Irish. Ní also coalesces with the copula and forms synthetic tenses at all periods, e.g. nípu libsi intórdso 'this practice should not be yours' Wb 9 c 17. Ní forms may combine with conjunctions and particles in Old Irish, e.g. mani 'unless', coni 'and/so ... not' etc. (See the various subordinate clauses below.)

Ní lenites in modern Irish; lenition after ní is observable in the Middle Irish period<sup>5</sup> and has spread analogically from the usage with the infixed neuter pronoun. Prevocalic 'h' which was sounded but not written after ní in Old Irish is exclusive to passive verbs in Middle and Modern Irish (OIG 243).

Nasalization after ní in the modern language "is found in the present tense of atáim and in the preterite, future, and conditional

<sup>1</sup>For the fluctuation in the early language between the forms ní and ní see OIG 48. This particle is referred to as ní in the following account.

<sup>2</sup>When the inverted emphatic construction (p. 154) is used with a negative copula (included in the ní form), the word to be emphasized follows immediately after.

<sup>3</sup>Thurneysen, OIG 411.

<sup>4</sup>When there is no infixed element present after ní, h may be prefixed to a following vowel as in Middle Irish ni haithgén 'did not recognize' SR 1689.

<sup>5</sup>No collections have been made to illustrate this development.



of do-gheibhim, e.g. ní bhfuil, ní bhfuair, ní bhfuighe"; according to O'Rahilly, these forms occur as early as the "latter half of the fifteenth century."<sup>1</sup>

### Origin of ní

An analysis of the form ní suggests its origin in Indo-European \*ne > Sanskrit na, Latin ne (in ne-scīo); the fact that it geminates postulates the presence of an intervening copula element such as \*est 'is'. (See OIG 243; Pedersen V GK ii 252 ff. and p. 8 n. 2 supra.) This was possible because the third singular of the copula could be omitted without any change of meaning.

### The Principal Functions of ní<sup>2</sup>

1. Ní negates a verb in a main clause with every tense of the indicative mood. Examples:

- CG ní dlig imb 'he is not entitled to butter' 27.
- Wb ní airic ní césad Crist amal sodain 'Christ's Passion profiteth naught in this wise' 19 b 2.
- ML níscongbaitis .i. di ersolcud a ngena 'they used not to restrain themselves, namely, from opening their mouth ' 55 a 18.
- VT ní fitir Pátraic inní sein 'Patrick did not know that' 444
- LL ní fhacca ní act in ngabail 'he saw nothing but the shaft' 8157.  
ar níro fhég Fergus dara ais riam 'for F. never looked behind him' 9201.
- AS ní fheicim ann hé 'I don't see it there' 6771.
- SBC oir ní ruighbhe tu, occus ní heidir do thegusc, a ní ele  
 'for you will not find, and it cannot be taught, anything else' 19.

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<sup>1</sup>See IDPP pp. 44-5 for early examples. O'Rahilly says this is not true nasalization, but a glide which developed between the 'i' and the following 'u'.

<sup>2</sup>See Contrib. N-O-P p. 42 for the sources of the following statements.

- BC nir crichnaiged an taisbenadh-sin 'and that revelation was not concluded' p. 118, l. 6.
- ni shoichedh an t-iasc tairis 'the fish could not cross over it' p. 132, l. 26.
- TBB ní thabhair duine uaidh aní nach bí aige 'a man does not give away what he has not' 251.
- PB ní éistig Dia réna athchuinidhe 'God will not listen to his request' 823.
- SB ní íosfair aení eile anis 'you will not eat anything else now' p. 63, l. 18.
- EM ní bhfuair mé rud ar bith ariamh 'I never got anything' p.6, l.28.
- GG níor chaoín Bríd aon deor amháin 'Brigid did not shed one single tear' p. 4, l. 28 (2).

2. Ní negates independent sentences expressing desire or command with the subjunctive, e.g. ni gessid 'ye shall not pray' Wb 26 a 34 (see p. 146 below)
3. Ní occasionally introduces a noun clause, e.g. asbertatar ... ní thardad in cauradmir 'they said he would not give the champion's portion' LU 9169 (See p.255).

### Nícon

Nícon, nicon (leniting) frequently replaces ní in the above constructions and is a more emphatic form of negation than ní alone. Pedersen (VGK ii 209) explains con- as having adverbial function, giving the force of nunquam in Latin. Thurneysen (OIG 861) considers that it is the conjunction con- and that nícon, nicon is a formation based analogically on ní nád, thus ní nád 'it is not that not' and nícon 'it is that not'. He points out that this explanation will hold good, if the lenition after nícon is secondary; this could have arisen on the analogy of its occurrence after ní ro.

In the later language both forms ní and nícon (nocon, nochon > nocho, nocha) are used without differentiation of emphasis. Nicon is likewise used in Middle Irish in the manner of ní meaning 'it is not'; this is not found in the Glosses.

- Wb ni conchechraí 'they will not love' 30 c 4.  
nícon chloor aet for cáinseál 'let me not hear but good news of you' 23 b 41.
- Ml nícon déit do nach ailiu in sin<sup>1</sup> 'that applies (téit) to none other' 53 a 17.  
ni conda bia nem<sup>2</sup> 'they will not have Heaven' 69 a 8.
- VT nocho raibi husce ocaí 'he had not water' 91.  
nocon dernasat airí 'they did not do it for him' 2650.  
nícon bia rí na epscop huadaib 'there will not be a king or bishop from them' 2216.
- LL nech bud chalmu ... cosindiu nocon fhuaross 'one more brave I have not hitherto found' 10641.  
nuchumtha ní 'I have nothing' 8243.  
nochos-tibrea 'she will not give her' 10479.
- PH No-con-fhetaim-se sin 'I cannot (do) that' 714.  
níco ndénat aithrige 'they will not repent' 6476.
- BC nocha biadh fodhord agat air 'you would not have a murmuring against him' p. 114, l. 9.
- TBB nocha n-íad an dream agá mbí an conéach san chiste aca 'they are not those who have prosperity in store' 9995.

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<sup>1</sup> nícon is found nasalizing only once in the glosses, in this example.

<sup>2</sup> nícon with the infixed pronoun occurs only three times in the glosses; all examples are in Ml and the pronoun varies even in Milan, cf. above, and the following with proleptic infix: nícos fuarsa inna furgrad sin 'I have not found these remains' 57 d 3. Later the use of nicon with infixed pronoun comes into more common use. See N-O-P, pp. 45-6.



### Cha in Ulster Irish

The reappearance of cha < nocha in modern Ulster Irish, after the almost complete eclipse of nícon in the literature from the middle of the fourteenth century is discussed by O'Rahilly.<sup>1</sup> He considers that this cha<sup>2</sup> is an innovation from Scottish Gaelic and that this fact is proven from the use of cha and the present indicative with future meaning (see above p. 58 n.2), in contrast to the affirmative future tense, e.g. cha dtéid se 'he will not go' beside racha se 'he will go'. As further evidence for this, he points out that ní is the only negative in use in literature of Ulster provenance up to the middle of the eighteenth century. GG furnishes the following example: chan abartar go brách liom 'it shall never be said to me' p. 115, l. 21 (2).

### Ná, Nad, nach-, etc.

#### Ná Forms in Independent Clauses<sup>3</sup>

1. The negative particle used with the imperative is ná, e.g. na anam di dénum maith 'let us not desist from doing good' Wb 20 c 14 (see p.145 ff.).
2. The form nád occurs in the responsive, e.g. inra gaib na comaisin nad ragaib écin 'did he accept those proposals? he did not indeed' LL 9060 (see p.149 ff.).
3. Nád is generally found with the interrogative particle in, e.g. innád cualaidsi 'have ye not heard?' Wb 5 a 21 (see p.123 ff.).
4. In archaic old Irish na(i)ch is used to join two independent negative sentences, e.g. ni tuillet dílsi anfolta naich díless dú[a]is díuparta 'improper objects (in a contract) do not import validity, and the reward given for fraud is not valid' Búrgsch. p. 30, par. 81 (OIG 866). Binchy has noted another example in Críth Gablach:

<sup>1</sup>IDPP pp. 165-8.

<sup>2</sup>chan before vowels and f which is lenited by it; char where ro has been assimilated. For other phonetic details see IDPP ibid.

<sup>3</sup>OIG 862 ff.; Contrib. N-O-P p. 2 ff.; as with ní, ná is written for na / ná in this description.

berid diib derschugud dia taurchria céliu nách aire désa conid roib défhríthe 'he acquires preeminence over them if he enfeoffs clients and he is not an aire désa until he have double income(?)' CG 259. For nade n-, nach n- with infixed pronouns see origin of ná forms p. 116 below.

5. Ná may introduce prohibitions with the perfective subjunctive (see p. 147 ff.)

### Ná Forms in Dependent Clauses<sup>1</sup>

The form nád is generally found in leniting (see p. 152 ff.) and nasalizing (see p. 182 ff.) relative clauses; ná combines with ara n-, co n- to give arná, conná 'so that not' and with a n- 'while' to give anna, ana (OIG 863). Ná forms occur in noun clauses governed by verbs of saying, perceiving, etc. (see p. 255 ff.).

In both independent and dependent clauses the form nach is used instead of ná, nád when there is an infixed pronoun present; a vowel is added to nach before a following consonant, e.g. nacham dermainte 'do not forget me' Ml 32 d 5 (OIG 419; 862).

As early as the Milan Glosses nach may be found replacing ná, nád where there is no infixed pronoun, e.g. huare nach derní a adamrugud 'because he cannot express admiration for him' Ml 128 c 3 (OIG 863). Nád is not found in modern Irish. When ro is present the older ná ro gives nár which is still current in modern Irish.

In leniting relative clauses nád lenites the following initial and in nasalizing relative clauses nád, ná nasalises (see p. 182 ff.). When an infixed pronoun with the relative form occurs in a nasalizing relative sentence n is inserted before the d of the Class C pronoun (OIG 495; 504)

In Middle and Modern Irish<sup>2</sup> ná (na in Ulster) with the imperative requires h before a following vowel but does not affect a consonant;

<sup>1</sup> ibid.

<sup>2</sup> T.F. O'Rahilly, IDPP, pp. 39-44; Gram. par. 566.

in Munster Irish ná in relative and noun clauses behaves exactly the same way. In Connacht and Ulster Irish nach is predominant in relative and noun clauses and it nasalizes.

O'Rahilly has examined the literature for the distribution of ná and nach and their effect on a following initial; they were used indifferently in Middle Irish and caused no mutation. Nach is more usual than na in the 16th and 17th centuries, and in some writers (e.g. Keating) it does not nasalize, as it does universally in the later language. O'Rahilly has found examples of this nasalization after nach to be as early as 1500, and he considers that its appearance is due partly to the analogy of ní bhfuil, ní bhfuair types (see p.116), and partly because there was a tendency "to generalize eclipsis in some dependent forms of the irregular verbs."<sup>1</sup>

#### Origin of Ná Forms

Thurneysen (OIG 863) on the basis of the cognates, Latin ne-que and Gothic ni-h, as well as the Brittanian na (nac, nag before vowels), concludes that the use of na, nach- in relative clauses is secondary. Watkins<sup>2</sup> concludes that the nad, nach forms are non-relative in origin and "they represent simply the inherited simple negation \*ne followed by the enclitic connective \*de and \*k<sup>w</sup>e." (The independent value of -d- and -ch may be seen in ro-d-bo 'either', in ro-ch-laime-thar 'and he dares' and in na(i)ch in the archaic usage given above p. ) As further evidence for this independent origin of these forms he quotes Binchy's interpretation of a passage in Echtra Connla i.e. ar ro-c(h)latair uili a ro-raíd in ben nache n-accatar 'for they all heard what the woman said and they did not see her', nache n- being the equivalent of ne-que eam.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>ibid. p. 40. He compares 'déid, dug' for téid, tug in the dependent forms of these verbs in Scottish Gaelic.

<sup>2</sup>"Notes on Celtic and Indo-European Morphology and Syntax," Lochlann III (1965) p. 286.

<sup>3</sup>For the corresponding -(d)e n- 'eam' in Baile Chuind, see G. Murphy, Ériu XVI pp. 145-51; For the example quoted above see ZCP XVII, p.196, par.3.



Watkins considers the na of the imperative<sup>1</sup> to contain IE \*ne followed by a velar element which "must be an archaic sandhi variant of IE \*k<sup>w</sup>e (see above p. 6).

### Nádcón

As an emphatic form, parallel to nícon, nadcón occurs, rarely in Wb and more often in Ml, e.g. nem nad-chon-ríothar 'a poison that cannot be healed' Ml 33 d 10 (OIG 864).

The following examples of negative sentences in relative clauses illustrate the previous commentary:

CG fer ná[d] tre(a)ba seilb ná ferann 'a man who does not cultivate estate or land' 72.

Wb bied aimser námbalobur 'there will be a time that he will not be feeble' 6 b 15.

na ropridchissemni dúib 'which we have not preached unto you' 17 b 31.

robói aimser nadrochreitsid 'there was a time that ye have not believed' 5 c 10.

ni taibrid for nech ní nádaccobra 'force no one to what he desires not' 6 c 1.

Ml in tain nacomallatar timnae ndáe 'when they do not fulfil the commandment of God' 94 b 4.

moltai nui ingainti nadrocheta riam 'now unmade praises that had not been sung before' 115 b 4.

VT i n-óentaíd noí ngrád aingel na tairmdechatar 'in the unity of the nine choirs of angels who did not transgress' 3088.

intí naro foglaind litri riam 'one who did not learn letters before that' 94.

cumang nad chumcabad 'a power that could not be able' 771.

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<sup>1</sup>Celtica VI p. 44.

- LL <sup>nad</sup> is gus fhulangar 'he is a power which cannot be endured' 11910.  
ni fhuil olc nar dernsamar riu 'there is no ill that we have not  
done them' 12067.
- ni fhill barsin bith laech nach dingebasa indiu 'there is no  
warrior in the world that I shall not resist today' 10382.
- Connach baí d'Ultaib i mbethaid ... na cuala 'so that there was  
none of the Ulstermen alive who did not hear' 10012.
- PH cach oen na cretfead do Christ 'everyone who would not believe  
in Christ' II 474.
- Georgi, do cheneil na Cristaige nach adramn 7 nach cluin ar  
ndee-ni 'George, of the race of Christians, who does not adore  
and who does not hear our gods' XXX 1403.
- in suí ... na ro-thairind demun 'the sage whom the devil did  
not humble' XIX 3371.
- in popul gentlide nar-fhéig fírinne forcetail in t-shosccla  
'the race of the Gentiles who did not see the truth of the  
teaching of the Gospel' VIII 4592.
- AS in té nár' ér duine riamh 'the one who never refused anyone' 218.
- in muinterus na fuarabair dogébhath bodesta 'the friendship  
which ye did not get, ye will receive from now on' 6139.
- in duine nach faghad a daeithin airm no etaig 'the person who  
would get enough arms or apparel' 2110.
- SBC ataim ag íoc na gaduighechta nach dernus 'I am discharging the  
theft which I did not commit' 3625.
- BC duine na fuighedd na subaltaidhe sin ó Dia 'a person who had  
not received those joys from God' p. 54, l. 7.
- an ou nar leicc aen-bethadach uaithe riam 'the hound that never  
let any animal escape from her' p. 26, l. 29.
- an tí nach denand pecadh 'one who does not sin' p. 188, l. 11.

- TBB an dream nach ceileann a gceana san bhfaoisidin 'those (people) who do not conceal their sins in confession' 9056.
- PB slogadóir nách bíonn sásda 'an abyss which is not satisfied' 1142.
- mná ... ná hoirionn dá chéile 'women who do not agree with each other' 334.
- laoch mear nár traochadh 'the swift warrior that was not overcome' 2290.
- SB do tháinig brat lachan er an úrlár nár fhág gráine beó don chuirneacht gan sloga 'and a swarm of ducks came on to the floor which left no grain of the wheat without guzzling it' p. 9, l. 2.
- EM ar aon Ghaedhal nach mbeidh i ndon an Ghaedhilg a labhairt 'on any Irishman who will not be able to talk Irish' p. 14, l. 9.
- an bhean uasal seo nach bhfaca mé ariamh cheana 'this lady whom I never saw before' p. 27, l. 34.
- rudai ... nár bhlaís is nach bhfaca mé ariamh cheana 'things ... which I never tasted or saw before' p. 28, l. 19.
- GG Dubhall Greag nach bhfacaídh aon duine ariamh taobh amuigh de dhoras 'D.C. whom no one ever saw outside a door' p. 13, l. 8.
- Annrás, ... nár dhubhairt a'n fhocal urnaighe ariamh 'A., ... who never said a word of a prayer' p. 13, l. 12.

### The Autonomous Negative in Old Irish<sup>1</sup>

The following autonomous negative forms may be found in Old Irish:

- (1) náte as an emphatic negative used in answering a question (according to Pedersen this from nád hé, a negatived copula followed by a 3 sg. pronoun (VGK ii 260)).

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 867.



in doich side dó? náde ní doich 'is it likely for him? nay,  
it is not likely' Wb 4 b 14.

- (2) na-thó 'nay' in contrast of tó 'yes', e.g. hi prideha bat? 'nathó'  
ol Pól 'shall they preach?' 'nay' saith Paul' Wb 13 a 13.
- (3) naicc glosses nihil minus, non utique, etc. and is also frequent in  
the second half of a disjunctive question, e.g. in-ru-etarscar fa  
naic 'whether it had departed or not' Ml 91 c 1.

#### Negation of Verbal Noun and Verbal Noun Phrases

See p. 79 ff.

## CHAPTER X

## INTERROGATIVES

In

When there is no interrogative pronoun present, the conjunct particle in introduces direct and indirect questions.<sup>1</sup> This is followed by nasalization<sup>2</sup> and the dependent form of the verb is used (OIG 463). In later Middle and Modern Irish in is written an and continues the Old Irish usage unchanged.

In Old Irish when infixed pronouns are present, Class C is required with in. The pronoun<sup>3</sup> is infixed between in and the verb and when the copula is in question, the infix occurs between in and the predicate, e.g. in da hierr? 'wilt Thou slay them?' Ml 77 a 16.

An followed by ro gives ar which lenites a following consonant and may also combine in certain copula forms. Examples of direct questions:

- CG in forcmaither áes sainrethach dond fhi[u]r midboth? 'is a special age assigned to a 'man of middle huts'?' 32.
- Ml in n-írrr? 'wilt thou slay?' 77 a 10.
- VT in creitisi aithrige iar peccad? 'do you believe in repentance after sin?' 1143.
- LL in n-ébairtsium fritsu in chomasain 'did he state that condition before you?' 9085.
- AS in táinic ar proinn fós? 'has our meal come yet?' 506.
- PH in tabair sib da bar n-aire anossa na mirbuili-sea? 'do ye give heed now to these miracles?' XIX 2906.
- SBC an tuicind sib? 'do ye understand?' 1692.
- BC an bhfuil a fhis agat? 'do you know it?' p. 98, l. 16.
- TBB an mbí álainn? 'is it beautiful? 4147.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Scots-English use of 'whether' beginning a direct question; e.g. in coscram-ni would be rendered 'whether do we destroy?' Wb 2 b 20.

<sup>2</sup> in > im before b forms of the substantive verb and the copula, but some exceptions occur, e.g. in biam fris tra 'shall we be at that then?' Wb 15 a 1, see Contrib. I Fasc. 2, p. 189, 2 in.

<sup>3</sup> Contrib. I Fasc. 2, p. 190, l. 22.

SB an mbeifá sásta lium mar phríntíseach 'would you like me as an apprentice?' p. 9, l. 20.

ar dh' aithníobhair í? 'did ye recognise her?' p. 13, l. 34.  
(note dh' < do before the vowel with the past tense).

EM a' gcreideann tú? 'do you believe?' p. 25, l. 32.

GG an dtiocfadh sí? 'would she come?' p. 5, l. 30 (2)

### Indirect Questions

Wb nebmess for nech im maid fa olcc 'not judging anyone whether he be good or evil' 8 d 26.

M1 asrubart sum fri mmaccu Israhel imbóir\* di oinachdaib leu 'that he said to the sons of Israel whether they had participators' 43 d 1.

VT ní ed asbiursa frit-su ... in digentar 'it is not that I say to you whether it will be done' 2864.

LL dóig innar tised Cúscraid 'is it likely whether C. might come to us?' 8263.

AS ro iarfaig Cormac do óclach in rabadur coin ae Find 'C. asked the warrior whether F. had hounds' 5332.

SBC do fiafraigh sin de, arb ail leis a slanughadh 'He asked him whether he would like to be made whole' 2417.

BC do fiarfuighetar na maigdena de an raibe aithne áice oera fein 'the maidens asked him whether he knew them' p. 50, l. 40.

TBB do fhiafruigh dhe ar choimhéid na miasa gan osgladh 'he asked him whether he had kept the dishes without uncovering them' 3592.  
n'fheadar an ligfeach sé mise 'I wonder whether he would let me' p. 32, l. 24.

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\*D. Greene, "The Conjunct Forms of the Copula in Old Irish," *Eriu* XIX, pp. 72-3, says this is an example of the particle in as distinct from in < \*in est or the like, which became the generalized form as ní < \*ne est.



EM d'fhiafruigh sí dhíom an dtiubharfainn congnamh di 'she asked me whether I would help her' p. 29, l. 30.

GG níl fhios agam an bhfuil Caitlín ag amharc anois air 'I do not know whether Kathleen is looking at him now' p. 17, l. 11(2).

### Old Irish Usage with dúus<sup>1</sup>

Dúus < do fhius used with the interrogative particles means 'to know whether, whether perhaps', e.g. do airfenus doib dús imbed comoror-con and 'I declared it to them to know whether there might be error therein' Wb 18 d 7; dús innád n-utmaligetar 'whether perhaps they might not vacillate' Thes. ii, 4 . 34; dús in fillfet doridisi 'to see whether they will bow down again' PH XIX 2636.

### Negative Interrogatives<sup>2</sup>

When negated, in is followed by ná, nád, nách. Later this is written simply ná, nád, etc. without the in > an. Nasalization may be found after innád (which does not appear in Modern Irish); the repartition of interrogative forms ná and nach in the dialects is similar to that of the other negative constructions (i.e. relatives and noun clauses), nach nasalizing and ná without following mutation apart from h before vowels. Ná with ro gives nár which lenites a following consonant. (See pp. 115-6 supra.) Examples:

Wb innád cualaidsi 'have ye not heard?' 5 a 21.

MI innad n-accai 'dost thou not see?' 17 b 17.

VT na fil ocúnn airnaigthi aili 'have we not another prayer?' 2907.

nách sí sút cell in c[h]leirig 'is not that the cleric's cell?' 629.

<sup>1</sup>OIG 463; see Contrib. dodénta - dúus, p. 454, l. 54 ff. for examples from Middle Irish. Collections have not been made of this construction, but a similar construction may be observed in modern Irish with dá fhéachain 'to see it', later d'féachain > féachaint, e.g. da fechain an aitheonadh an Papa ... 'to see whether the Pope would recognise ...' BC p. 208, l. 13; dá fhéachain an luaisgfidh an cleite 'to see whether the feather will stir' TBB 1895. This construction is current in modern Irish, see Grain. par. 701 p. 353.

<sup>2</sup>Contrib. I Fasc. 2 p. 190, l. 11 ff.; OIG 463.

- PH nach dubramar-ni frit? 'did we not say to you?' XIX 2649.
- BC nar gabadh dechmad an ferainn-sin lib? 'have not tithes of the land been taken by you?' p. 86, l. 37.
- PB nách tréan-choghnadh 7 torrthúlacht na subháilce seo? 'Is it not the strong help and fruitfulness of this virtue?' 2025.
- SB ná fuil fhios agut go mbíon cúram ag dochtúirí do n-a lethéid gach lá? 'do you not know that doctors need that kind of thing always?' p. 31, l. 38.
- EM nach goreideann tú ... gurab í an Ghaedhilg teanga na h-Éireann? 'do you not believe that Irish is the language of Ireland?' p. 25, l. 27.
- GG nár iarr me oraibh? 'did I not ask you?' p. 44, l. 21 (2).  
nach bhfuil tú ag déanamh ... go bhféadfadh sé a theacht  
 'are you not reckoning that he could come?' p. 9, l. 1 (2).

When an affirmative answer is anticipated a negative question in Old Irish may also be introduced by cani 'none', e.g. cani accai 'seest thou not?' Ml 25 b 14. Caní > cain when followed by pretonic ro, e.g. cain-ronoíbad 'has he not been sanctified?' Wb 2 c 4.

### Emphatic Negative Interrogatives

In Milan<sup>1</sup> the form of the negative interrogative is often expressed by in ní nad 'is it that not', e.g. inní nad roilgisid 'have ye not read?' Ml 17 b 18; another example<sup>2</sup> may be cited from Bethada Naem nÉrenn, i.e. inné nach foghnann duit duine ele? 'is it that someone else does not minister to you?' 179 . 4. Pedersen (VGK ii 257) suggests that ní is the neuter form of nech.

Betha Colaim Chille furnishes some examples of an é nach: an é nach faicí-si CC. cugaind? 'is it that you do not see C.C. (coming) to us?' BC p. 96, l. 14; an é nach fuil a fhis agatsa 'is it that you do not know?' p. 188, l. 8.

<sup>1</sup>OIG 463; Contrib. I Fasc. 2, p. 190, l. 16.

<sup>2</sup>ibid. l. 20.

O'Rahilly<sup>1</sup> points out that an é go, an é nach (corresponding to the use of ní hé go, ní hé nach 'it is not that (not)') may be used "in the literature of the seventeenth century and later", an é nach surviving in Mayo and in Ulster. This dialectal usage conveys a sceptical or surprised attitude on the part of the speaker as opposed to simple nach 'is it not?'

### Double or Alternative Questions<sup>2</sup>

in ... in, in ... fa (ba), in ... fa in may be used to express 'is it ... or, whether ... or'. Later these questions are introduced an ... nó an. Examples:

- Wb imb i nógi imb i lánamnas 'whether it be in celibacy or in marriage' 10 a 12.
- VT inn a síthib in do déib dúib? 'are you from the fairymounds or of the gods?' 1114.
- SBC an tusa in nech do bi ac techt chuguinn no an feorochar re nech ele 'are You He Who was coming to us or shall we await another?' 1908.
- SB níl fhios aguin an b' é an fear cearté nú nách é 'we do not know whether he is the right man or whether he is not' p. 75, l. 22.

### Interrogative Pronouns and Adverbs<sup>3</sup>

The usage is the same for direct and indirect questions in sentences introduced by the interrogative pronouns and adverbs, at all periods of the language. There are two types of interrogative pronoun in Old Irish: (1) ce, ci, cía which has almost no stress and which is invariable in

<sup>1</sup>IDPP pp. 238-9. In view of the BC examples incidences of an é nach may be put back to the 16th century; but since BC in these passages is based on the Old Irish Life, perhaps this is a continuation of the old usage as in Bethada Naem nÉrenn above.

<sup>2</sup>Contrib. I Fasc. 2, p. 189, l. 74; OIG 464 cites other examples and types.

<sup>3</sup>OIG 456-7.



gender and number; (2) cía 'who' which is more fully accented and has a neuter form cid, ced 'what' and a plural citné. The 3 sg. pres. indie. copula is never found expressed after these pronouns.

Both (1) and (2) may introduce a noun or pronoun in the nominative, the former mostly in petrified expressions. When (2) is used, cía occurs only with the masculine; the feminine form is cessi, ce-sí, ci-sí and the neuter ced, cid. Both feminine and neuter forms lenite.

Examples:

Type (1)

cía airm 'what place' > cairm 'where' masc.

cía dú 'what place' fem.

cía indas 'what manner' > cindas 'how' neut.

Type (2)

cía gním 'what is the deed?' masc.

cisí chomairle 'what is the advice?' fem.

cid chenél 'what is the gender?' neut.

Type (1) may be either subject or object in combination with verbs; it functions as a conjunct particle requiring the dependent form of the verb, e.g. cía beir 'who carries' LL 12 b 46. Occasionally found with an infixed pronoun, the interrogative pronoun has the form cich-, e.g. cichib foruireth 'what has been caused to you?' LL 252 a 24.

Type (2) requires independent relative forms, and this type of construction continues in use in modern Irish in the case of cía > cé 'who'. Examples:

(a) cía > cé 'who'

Wb cía conicc ní dúun 'who can do aught unto us?' 4 b 11.

Ml cía dobera íc do Sión 'who will give salvation from Zion'

34 d 5.

Sc.M.\* cia rannas dúib? 'who (is it that) divides for you?' LL 13178.

VT cia ... dogéna sóthar ar Día? 'who will make an effort for God?' 1345.

LL co fessursa cia benas in fid fon samlaidse 'that I may know who cuts the wood in this manner' 8771.

PH cia na cretend i nDia 'who does not believe in God?' 2265.

SBC cia iarthai-si? 'whom do you seek?' 3527.

BC cia lécess na gairthe fanamhaid-si fuinn no cia d'feraib  
Erend do-beir an esonoir-si duind? 'who lets forth these shouts of derision at us or which of the men of Ireland gives us this disrespect?' p. 346, l. 25.

TBB cia do bhéara onóir? 'who will give honour?' 1385.

PB cia nách déarfach? 'who would not say?' 181.

SB ach ní fheadair siad ce a bhí 'sa luíng eile 'but they did not know who was in the other ship' p. 22, l. 25.

EM cé mhúin dóibh leis an Ghaedhilg a léigheadh? 'who taught them how to read Irish?' p. 31, l. 35.

GG cuireadh ceist orm cé a bhí ag cur a thuairisce 'I was asked who had been looking for news of him' p. 119, l. 12 (2).

Cid, ced 'what' remains in use in Munster Irish as 'cad' and is the first element in Ulster 'goidé' < cad é presumably. Cid does not occur so written after PH. Cad is found in SBC but does not seem to occur again until SB in Munster Irish. Créd < cia rét 'what thing' is the most common interrogative 'pronoun' in texts from PH to PB. It is found in Connacht with metathesis as céard. All these forms require relative construction and lenite. Examples:

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\*Scél Mucci Meic Dá Thó, The Book of Leinster II, p. 418 ff.  
(ed. R. I. Best and M. A. O'Brien).

cid 'what'

- CG cid nodmbrissi in fer so a bóairechas? 'what deprives (him) this man of bóaire status?' 145.
- Wb cid atobaig dó 'what impels you to it?' 19 d 10a.
- ML dobeir dia aithesc cid as denti 'God gives an answer what is to be done' 51 b 8.
- VT cid taas in chaillech 'what ails the old woman?' 266.
- LL cid foterá sôn 'what causes that?' 7692.
- PH cid fodera duit cen a ádnocul 'what causes you not to bury him?' 656.

cad 'what'

- PH cad dogéna in bocht? 'what will the wretch do?' XXXIV 7519.
- SBC cad do- rinne Muire Magdalena? 'what did Mary Magdalen do?' 2820.
- SB cad a dhéanfadh m'fhear céile agus mo leanabh 'what would my husband and child do?' p. 18, l. 24.
- crét, cré, créad > céard 'what'
- PH crét do rigni-si friu? 'what did you do to them?' 2708.
- SBC cred do-rinneadh rit? 'what was done to you?' 1119.
- BC ni fhedar cred dober dó 'I do not know what I shall give him' p. 50, l. 29.

créad

- TBB créad is iontuigthe as sin? 'what is to be understood from that?' 653.
- PB créad do-dhéanam ris na mnáibh? 'what shall we do with the women?' 501



EM agus d'fhiafruigh dhiom, céard a bhí orm 'and she asked me what was wrong with me' p. 17, l. 9.

goidé 'what'

GG goidé tá tusa a dhéanamh ansea? 'what are you doing here?' p. 85, l. 15 (2).

(b) 'Whose'

coich 'whose' > 'who'

There is a predicative genitive coich > cóich 'whose'; this form is taken by Thurneysen (OIG 466) as a secondary development on the analogy of such genitives as neich or cáich, or possibly as an old reduplicated form. In some texts it is used as 'who, what' and the examples below from LL seem to be plural inflections. It disappears from the texts after PH (XIX). Examples:

Sg is inderb coich in mug 'it is uncertain whose the serf is' 209 b 30.

VT coich úainn hí 'whose from among us (will it be)?' 811.

LL cóich dom muintirseá tussu 'who are you of my people?' 7749.

coichi na eichsin 'whose are those horses?' 8633.

cóchit na innili imda imdaiscaire 'what are the many wild cattle?' 8697.

AS do fiarfaig iarsin cuich in macaemh 'then he asked who the youth was' 1686.

PH cuich iat in lucht ut chungnus le Ísu 'who are those folk who help Jesus?' XIX 2674.

(c) 'why'

The interrogation 'why' is expressed by cid dia n-, cid ara n- in Old Irish.<sup>1</sup> These forms occur in LL and cid dia n- survives in

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<sup>1</sup>Vendryes, GVI, par. 561.

AS in the stereotyped cid tia tá? 'why is X so called?'

Cid im / fá a n- spans the period from LL to SBC, and its successor crét um / fá a n- is found from AS to TBB. um does not seem to occur after SBC. No example has been found in PB.

The dialect texts employ various locutions cad é an / cé 'n fáth go 'what is the reason that' in SB and EM respectively, and cad 'n-a thaobh a / go 'what is it in its regard that' in SB.<sup>1</sup>

cid dia n- 'why'

CG cid dia n-éirana(i)tar dosom int shéoit s[e]o? 'why are these chattels paid to him?' 121.

Wb cid dia neirson anísiu 'why saith he this?' 19 d 11.

LL cid dia tá latsú ón 'why do you say that indeed?' 7555.

AS cidh dia tá Ráth Glais ar in ráith si 'why is this fort called Ráth Glais?' 1247.

cid ara n-

CG cid ara n-eperr Críth Gablach? 'why does one say "Branched Purchase"?' 1

Wb cid ara ndéntar pecthaach díum 'why is a sinner made out of me?' 2 a 10.

VT ced ara reilcis in fer ... do éccaib? 'why did you let the man die?' 162.

cid má/fa/um a/n- cad 'ma n- 'why'

LL cid má ndénaisiu damsa sain? 'why do you do that for me?' 7748.

AS (in) bhfedubair cid fa tucad dom acallaim sib 'did you know why you were brought to talk to me?' 314.

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<sup>1</sup>See M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, DPIK par. 84; see also p. 95 above where a ttaoibh, a dtaobh expresses cause in a verbal noun phrase.

SBC cad 'ma ndentai in mi-throcaire sin 'why do ye carry out that cruelty?' 428.

crét um a n-, créad fá n- 'why'

AS crét uma n-imthighi 'why do you go away?' 1487.

SBC cred far inntoighidur in lucht so? 'why did these people turn?' 4239.

BC cred fa nderna se sin 'why he had done that' p. 208, l. 25.

TBB créad fá dtugthaoi grádh don díomhaoineas, créad fá n-iarrthar libh an bhréag 'why do you love vanity, why is untruth sought by you?' 603.

ca' n-a thaobh a/go 'why'

SB ca' n-a thaobh a dheinis an obair ghrána san 'why did you do that hateful work?'

ca' n-a chaobh go ndeirean tu é sin 'why do you say that?' p. 53, l. 7.

cé'n/cad é n fáth go 'why (lit. 'what is the reason that?')'

SB cad é an fá go ndúruis ... an chainnt úd 'why do you have (lit. 'say') that talk?' p. 28, l. 43.

EM cé 'n fáth go raibh pictiúir Rí-Shasana crochta annsin aige 'why he had the King of England's portrait hanging there' p. 20, l. 8.

#### Negatives Meaning 'why ... not'

Usage in VT seems to use cid na without a preposition with the meaning 'why ... not'. This recurs in créad nach in PB.<sup>1</sup> No examples have been found of cid dia n- with a negative, but one occurrence of

<sup>1</sup> as quoted in the examples; the editor B. Ó Cuív, RB p. 203, has observed that in the archaïcised B version these two questions are introduced by créad as: créad as nách biadh cead aguinne? 2511, and créad as ... nách biadh ferg Dé ré chretú[i]r féin? 3875. Keating has créad as in this sense in TBB in créad as a ndéine díomus? 'wherefore are you proud?' (quid superbis ...) 633.



cid arnach has been noted in LL (see infra).

The modern locutions cad 'na thaobh a/go and cad é an / cé 'n fáth go substitute a relative negative particle for a and go (see p. 116 for forms appropriate to the various dialects).

VT ced nach maith ... a bith amal foruirmed? 'why is it not good that it should be as it was placed?' 1968.

LL cid na berar coma do 7 nach acaltar uaind e? 'why are conditions not brought to him and why is he not addressed by us?' 9016

cid arnach Cú Chulaind bias fortsu de suidiu 'why will you not be called C.C. from this?' 8463.

AS cidh um nár' chaithset biad 'why they had not eaten food' 397.

PB créad nách biadh cead aguinne labhairt? 'why should we not have permission to speak?' 443.

créad nách biadh fearg ar Dhia? 'why should not God be angry?' 1802.

SB ca' n-a chaobh ná pósfa an bhean óg? 'why would you not marry the young woman?' p. 70, l. 29.

(d) 'how'

In early Irish co 'how' is found geminating the dependent forms of the verb. The combination cía indas > cíndas > conas 'what manner' serves to express 'how' from the Old Irish period<sup>1</sup> down to and including modern Munster Irish. Cíndas introduces leniting relative sentences. SB includes some examples with conas mar. EM employs cé'n chaoi a 'what is the way that' which requires oblique relative construction. GG has goidé mar in this context. Examples:

co- 'how'

LU co-bbia mo fhechtas 'how will my expedition be?' 4528.

co acci in slúag 'how seest thou the host?' 4530.

<sup>1</sup>See OIG 457; 462; Vendryes GVI par. 563; Sjoestedt-Jonval DPIK par. 93; par. 235.

cia indas > cindas, cindus > cionnus > conus 'how'

- MI décaid a eredig 7 a arma cia indas rundgabsat 'behold ye his cup and his arms how they are' 55 c 1.
- VT cindas coniofam creitem don rí sin? 'how shall we believe in this King?' 1139.
- LL atbertatar ... cinnas bad chomadas in sluagad do thecht 'they said how it would be fitting for the expedition to go' 7920.
- AS cinnus doghnith fein fiadhach? 'how do you hunt?' 883.
- PH cindus ro thuici-siu in mbelra Ebraide uadib? 'how did you understand the Hebrew language from them?' XIX 2618.
- SBC cindus fuarabhair an aimser 'how did you pass the time?' 2740.
- BC cindus dogebsa an lec sin ata fai an loch ... no cindus aitheónas me hi? 'how shall I find that flagstone which is under the lake or how shall I recognise it?' p. 50, l. 34.
- TBB cionnus chanfam duain an Tighearna 'how shall we sing the songs of the Lord?' 6360.
- PB mar sin cionnas chreidios tú? 'therefore how do you believe?' 778.
- SB níl fhios agum-sa cunas a chuir sé an tseanabhean chuin báis 'I do not know how he put the old woman to death' p.31, l.45.
- cunas mar 'how'
- SB d'íns sé don duin' uasal cunas mar thug sé an capal go dí an uisge 'he told the gentleman how he took the horse to the water' p. 8, l. 33.
- cé'n chaoi 'how'
- EM cé'n chaoi arbh fhéidir liom mo lámha 's mo bhróga a chongbháil deas glan 'how would I be able to keep my hands and my shoes nice and clean' p. 33, l. 18.

EM ní mé cé'n chaoi is féidir leis an mbeirt bhanaltra leigheas a dhéanamh 'I do not know how the two nurses can effect cures' p. 36, l. 13.

goidé mar 'how'

GG goidé mar tá mo leanbh? 'how is my child?' p. 7, l. 6 (2).

agus gan é ro-chinnté goidé mar nochtfadh sé é 'and he was not too certain how he would reveal it' p. 116, l. 9 (2).

# (e) 'when'

Apart from cuin 'when', which is not very common, most of the words for 'when' seem to be made up of words for 'time' introduced by cia, ca, ga, etc. which do not become petrified, e.g. ca huair, ca trath, etc. Cuin occurs in CG, VT, LL (in poetry), and in PH; it emerges again in TBB. None of the examples collected would show mutation as pertaining to the relative. The early modern texts have ca huair 'what hour' etc. as has Keating for the most part; these are followed by lenited relative verbal forms.

Munster Irish has cathain 'when' introducing a relative with a and/or lenition of the verb.<sup>1</sup> Connacht Irish employs cén uair a 'what is the hour that' with lenited relative following, e.g. cén uair a shroichfidh Gaillimh? 'when shall we reach Galway?'<sup>2</sup> and a similar locution with goidé may be used in Ulster. Examples:

(cia) chuin, cuin 'when'

CG cuin dituitt a gell? 'when does his pledge lapse?' 289.

VT cia chuin dogén-sa molad duit-siu 'when shall I praise you?' 2893.

LL ticfad giped chuín 'he would come whenever it would be (? poet.)' 10320.

<sup>1</sup>M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, DPIK, par. 235.

<sup>2</sup>Grain. par. 658.



PH cuin ... tania in himagin noem ut chugat? 'when did that sacred image come into your possession?' 207.

TBB go dtuigfeadh an duine cuin do bhiadh féin marbh do bhás na coire 'that a man would understand when he would be dead himself from the death of sin' 1552.

ca huair

BC ca huair ticfus se? 'when will he come?' p. 24, l. 5.

TBB cá huair do thiocfadh an bithbheanach 'when the thief would come' 2244.

(f) 'where'

'co' means 'where' in archaic Old Irish maxims, when verbs other than the copula are used with it, du, probably dú 'place', is used with it. Cia dú occurs in this sense in VT. Cairm < cia airm 'what is the place' is used with i n- and the dependent forms of the verb down to LL. Cáit i n- < cia áit i n- 'what is the place?' occurs in the Tripartite Life and in the early modern texts including TBB. Cá n- is found in all the texts from SBC onwards; it also requires dependent construction and nasalizes. A modern phrase cé'n áit a/go 'what is the place that', similar in origin to cáit i n-, is also found in SB and EM. Examples:

codu 'where'

Bürgsch. codu-accobra creici cech dindba? 'where does every poor man seek to buy?' p. 21, par. 61.

cia dú 'where'

VT cia dú adcobrai? 'where do you desire (it)?' 2701.

cairm / cia airm i<sup>n</sup>- 'where'

Wb ni fiastar som cia airm indid immaircide do eper<sup>t</sup> amén 'he does not know where it is fitting for him to say 'amen' 12 d 18.

VT cairm in tibre dam? 'where will you give it to me?' 1939.

cía airm hitá? 'where is He?' 1117.

LL cía airm i ta Ibar 'where is I.?' 8524.

cáit i

VT baí īm Ciaran oca iarfaigid do Patraic cáit i ggebad 'Kieran was asking Patrick where he would take (up residence)' 821.

PH caitt a phil ingrentig na Cristaige 'where the persecutor of the Christians is' 1067.

AS cait a bhíul in ferann sin? 'where is that land?' 331.

BC dia fis cait a ndeachaidh Maedhóc 'to see where Aidan went' p. 418, l. 25.

TBB cáit i bhfuilid prionnsadha na goineadhach 'where are the princes of the races?' 3687.

cán- 'where'

SBC ca ar chuiribhair é? 'where have you put Him?' 2731.

cá ndechadur na hapstail 'where did the apostles go?' 4319.

BC ni raibhe a fhis acu gá rachdaís nó cá mbeidís an oidhce sin 'they did not know where they would go nor where they would be that night' p. 136, l. 29.

TBB ní feas dó ... cá dtíallann 'he does not know where he is going' 10394.

SB cá bhfuairais an t-airgead? 'where did you get the money?' p. 31, l. 36.

EM cá bhfuil an sagart parráiste i n-a chomhnaidhe? 'where is the parish priest living?' p. 18, l. 27.

GG cá bhfuil muid\* ag cur aidiacht le gach aon bhall 'where are we, putting adjectives with every part?' p. 110, l. 13 (2).

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\*This seems to be similar to the stereotyped phrase 'gá dtám ris? 'where are we at it?' TBB 783 (< oid taam??).

cé'n áit a/go

SB níorbh fhios do cé'n áit go raibh conuí air 'he did not know where he lived' p. 4, l. 25.

EM cé'n áit ar fhóghluim tú í? 'where did you learn it?' p. 31, l. 16.

(g) 'whence'

In early Old Irish can 'whence' may stand alone; it is found in nominal sentences in VT and AS and similarly cía can occurs in VT.

Canas a with the preposition as and the relative a is employed in PH and AS. It occurs in BC only in the older passage (XXXI) based on Echtra Clerech Choluim Cille.

SB has examples of cad as go with oblique relative construction to convey the meaning 'whence'. Examples:

(cía) can

VT cía can duib 7 can dodechobair? 'whence are you and whence have you come?' 113.

can duib-si? 'whence are you?' 2589.

LL can doberid in n-alaid 'whence do you bring the stock?' 9313.

AS can duit? 'whence are you?' 388.

canas (a)

PH canas a tucais na hairgennti seo 'from where did you bring these pieces of silver?' 1060.

AS canas ar frith sin? 'whence was that procured?' 167.

canas a tucais in cnuas 'from where did you bring the cluster?' 482.

BC fiafraighis an senóir dib canus tancatar 'the old man asked them whence they came' p. 392, l. 17.



cad as go

SB cad as go bhfaghan tú lón do chothuithe 'from where do you  
get your sustenance?' p. 76, l. 6.

## CHAPTER XI

## MAIN CLAUSES

Co-ordination and the Co-ordinating Conjunctions(1) acus, ocus, os, is 'and'

The copulative conjunction 'ocus' is the commonest means of co-ordinating words and sentences in Irish at all periods of the language; in Old Irish it lenites a following initial. The symbol 7 and the Latin et are the normal methods employed in the Old Irish manuscripts to express 'and'. The earliest form may have been ocuis; Thurneysen thinks this is likely, due to the loss of palatalization in the consonants of proclitics. Possibly ocus is cognate with acus 'near' (W. agos) and with the preposition oc 'at'.<sup>2</sup>

A short form os is found before the stressed nominative forms of personal pronouns.<sup>3</sup> An analogical form, after the 3 pl. of the copula it, occurs in ot-hé 'and they' Ml 130 a 3. Is is usual in early poetry where it is required by the metre<sup>4</sup>; it is likewise widely used in current Irish.

(2) -ch < \*k<sup>W</sup>e 'and'

The connective -ch is found in some ancient texts<sup>5</sup>; cognate with Latin -que, Sanskrit -ca, etc. it occurs in enclisis after proclitics, e.g. ba-ch rí Temrach 'and he was king of Tara' ALI IV 179.13. It also serves to co-ordinate a negative sentence with na (see pp. 114; 116 above). This enclitic 'and' is confined to archaic Old Irish, and was followed by an enclitic object pronoun when such was present.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>OIG 878, 168.

<sup>2</sup>OIG 878; Vendryes, Lexique Étymologique de l'irlandais Ancien, see oc p. 0-5, ocus p. 0-9.

<sup>3</sup>M. Ó Briain, ZCP XIV p. 314, suggests that os is originally a proclitic development of the present participle of the verb 'to be' (as also the ot form) but Thurneysen, ZCP XVI p. 275, refutes this and takes os as short for ocus.

<sup>4</sup>Contrib. N-O-P p. 96, l. 18.

<sup>5</sup>OIG 880; D.A. Binchy "IE \*q<sup>u</sup>e in Irish," Celtica V, 77 ff.; C. Watkins "Syntax of the Old Irish Verb," Celtica VI, p. 8 ff.

<sup>6</sup>Watkins, *ibid.* p. 11 equates this with Hittite usage, -(y)a with following enclitic object pronoun.

(3) sech < \*so-k<sup>we</sup>

Watkins considers that the first element of sech is the equivalent of Sanskrit sá for which Vedic shows evidence of its meaning simply 'and'.<sup>1</sup> The second part is the -ch discussed above.

(a) When sech is placed at the head of the first of two clauses it corresponds to Latin praeterquam quod 'in addition to the fact that', 'while ... also', e.g. sech bid dia bid duine 'he will be both God and man' Im. Br. p. 23, par. 48; in later texts ocus comes before the second sentence,<sup>2</sup> e.g. sech ni tergaíd assin n-ath illeí 7 ní regaíd innund 'you will not come hither out of the ford in addition to the fact that you will not go thither' Lat. Liv. 54. 14.

(b) When sech is placed before the second clause it may mean 'moreover, and besides'<sup>3</sup> e.g. bóge dano ainm do ballán beg i mbítis cóic ungi óir sech nobíd fri hól sainlenna as 'bóge indeed is the name of a small vessel in which there were five ounces of gold and moreover which was used for the drinking of special ale from it' Corm. 342.

(c) Sech may have adversative force in a sentence opposing or seeming to oppose the preceding statement,<sup>4</sup> e.g. ní sochude rochretti do neuch ro chualamarni huaitiu a dé sech ra pridchaisem do 'not many have believed what we have heard from Thee, O God, although we have preached it to everyone' Wb 5 a 7.

(d) Sech 'that is to say, namely' followed by the independent form of the verb may introduce an explanatory clause in conjunction with the 3 sg. pres. indic. of the copula; when the following clause contains 'is', it is omitted but no other form of the copula is left out in this manner.<sup>5</sup> This construction is almost exclusive to the glosses, e.g. air nísfail lium inna briathrasin sechis inna torgabala són 'for they are not with me those words, that is, the crimes' Ml 44 b 11; sech is doringensat són 'that is they did that' Ml 16 d 6.

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.* p. 18; see also p. 16 where he points out that \*(e)no-, \*to-, \*so-, \*e- "are all deictic pronominal stems." The first three he considers are the originals of O.I. no, to, se (in sech); the last gives the IE augment é. They contain only the stems.

<sup>2</sup> *Contrib. S.* p. 125, 1.50 ff.; 1.65 ff. <sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p. 125, 1.73 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* p. 126, 1. 4 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* p. 126, 1. 42 ff.



(4) noch < \*(e)no-k<sup>We</sup>

The no is equatable with Hittite nu both functionally and formally.<sup>1</sup>

(a) At the head of a main clause it means 'and', e.g. noch dlig somul n-eich 'and he is entitled to a well-balanced (?) horse' Bretha Déin Chécht<sup>2</sup> par. 35; noch is deich sētaib di-rrenaiter-side 'and these are atoned for by [a mulct of] ten chattels' ALI V 412.2.

(b) It is frequently used with adversative force, e.g. amal no-bed, noch nī fail 'as if it were; yet it is not' Wb 5 a 18.

(c) With the copula it also expresses id est, e.g. noch is cona-certussa ón 'that is, I had emended it' Ml 2 a 1.

(5) nó, nú 'or'

The disjunctive conjunction nó (also no, nu) 'or', apart from separating parts of the same clause, introduces co-ordinate clauses in order to express one or more alternatives.<sup>3</sup> The usual means of writing nó in the manuscripts is to employ the symbol ± which is the contraction Latin vel. Pedersen (VGK i 441) derives no from a petrified imperative form of the root \*neu- (in at-noí 'he entrusts him'); Thurneysen suggests it comes from \*ne-we, which would contain the IE negative \*ne followed by the IE particle \*we 'or' (cf. Latin ue, Sanskrit va). As with nech 'somebody', the negative meaning would have been lost in negative clauses at first (OIG 885). This nó which is the equivalent of Welsh neu, is still the disjunctive conjunction used in Irish corresponding to English 'or', e.g. eplid do gorta ... no ithed cách a céli uaib 'die of starvation or let each of you eat the other' PH 1023.

(6) airg 'or'

The alternative sentence may occasionally be introduced by airc, airg(g) 'or'; this may be of the same origin as airc 'dilemma' (OIG 886) according to Thurneysen; it is possibly a borrowing from Latin argue

<sup>1</sup>OIG 880; Watkins loc.cit. p. 14; Dillon, TPS 1947 p. 22 ff; Vendryes, op.cit. p. N-18; see also n. 1 p. 140 above.

<sup>2</sup>now in proof copy, edited by D.A. Binchy. These examples are cited by Watkins, loc.cit. p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Contrib. N-O-P, p. 50, l. 50 ff.; Vendryes, op.cit. p. N-18.

imperative of arguere 'demonstrate, prove'<sup>1</sup> e.g. ra-mbia comméite Maige Muirthemne di Maig Aif ... airgg mad ferr laiss a mmagsa inro alt 'he will have the equivalent of from M.M. to M.A. ... or if he prefers it, the plain where he was reared' TBC 1105.\*

(7) rodbo, rodbu > robo, robu 'either (... or)'

This form (which Thurneysen derives from a potential ro-subjunctive of the copula, with a 'd' element which Watkins explains as the IE connective \*de), may appear introducing disjunctive sentences in Old Irish.<sup>2</sup> Rodbo, which lenites, may be found (a) before the two phrases, e.g. rodbu ar chairiguth in uile ... rodbu ar demmiguth in maith 'perhaps it may be to chastise wrong ... or to confirm right' Ériu VII, p. 162, par. 5; (b) before the first phrase, the others being introduced by nó (see (5) above), e.g. rodbo dia adroni ... is hé som adroni do dia 'either it is God who has committed or it is he who has committed to God' Wb 29 d 29; (c) before the later members, e.g. liubair 7 legend, rodbu forcetail no scribend 'books and reading or teaching or writing' L.B. 11 b 13.

(8) ná, nach 'nor'

The conjunction ná 'nor' introduces parallel words or phrases in negative clauses but nó (see (5) above) may also be used in this case (OIG 865). For nach see p. 116 above. This ná is still used in modern Irish with negative clauses.

(9) acht 'but'

The chief adversative conjunction in Irish is acht<sup>3</sup> 'but' with a principal clause; in the manuscripts ē (for Latin sed) is written to denote acht. As ach (in SB), or acht, it is still current in modern Irish. Examples:

<sup>1</sup>Vendryes, op.cit. p. A-45.

<sup>2</sup>OIG 886; Watkins, Lochlann III, p. 286; see also p. 116 above; Contrib. R p. 78, l. 20 ff.

<sup>3</sup>OIG 908; see also V. Hull "Early Irish Acht" ZCP XXV, p. 237 ff.

\*ed. Strachan and O'Keefe, Dublin 1939.

Wb nípa deoladacht acht bid fiach 'it will not be a grace but a payment' 2 b 26

SB bhí an bhliain ag imeacht lé, ach níor imi' sí a gan-fhios don iascaire 'the year was slipping by but it did not pass, unknown to the fisherman' p. 4, l. 1.

(10) co n- 'and'

This connective co n- replaced -ch (in (2) above) in "narrative style" according to Watkins<sup>1</sup> who emends the translations of co n- in the archaic Baile Chuind from 'until' to 'and', e.g. con Niell noifither ... co Loigaire lēnfet[h]ar 'and Niall shall be extolled ... and Loigaire shall be grieved (?)' Eriu XVI 145-51; combi ar écin dobongar 'and it is levied by force' CG 60.

Various other Old Irish conjunctions are attested, e.g. seco 'and' (OIG 879); emid ... emid 'tam ... quam' (OIG 884); cenmithá 'besides that' (OIG 887); inge 'except' (OIG 843; 908).

Positive Statements

See Normal Old Irish Construction p. 9 ff. above.

Negative Statements

See Negation p. 110 ff. above.

Interrogatives

See p. 121 f. above.

Negative Interrogatives

See p. 123 ff. above.

Commands and Prohibitions

These may be expressed by (a) the imperative and (b) the subjunctive.

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<sup>1</sup>Celtica, VI p. 9 f.; OIG 897.



(a) The imperative expresses an immediate command. As has been noted (see above p. 54) it has no ro forms.<sup>1</sup> Object pronouns are infixed by means of no, with simple verbs; the imperative of the compound verb is prototonic, but when there is an object pronoun the form is deuterotonic and the pronoun infixed.

The imperative negative marker is na, ná which geminates; with infixed pronouns, nach, nách before a pronoun with a vowel, and nachi- (Wb), nacha- (Ml) before a pronoun beginning with a consonant.

The true imperative is the 2nd sg. form which is the verbal stem. The other persons are secondarily added to this, to form a full paradigm; these are indicative forms with secondary endings in which the old IE injunctive survives.<sup>2</sup>

For the forms of the imperative see OIG 583 ff.<sup>3</sup> Examples:

Wb nanglanad tri aithirgi 'let him purify himself through penance' 11 d 8.

Ml nonsoerni .i. a dae ol in popul '"deliver us, i.e. O God" said the people' 46 b 26.

VT nom léic-se isin primshuidiu indiu 'let me into the passenger-seat today' 2579.

LL saig brot ... arin n-echraid 'apply the goad to the horses' 8117.

PH sechnum na peccaid dia donnaig saindrud 'let us avoid sins on Sunday in particular' (XXXIV) 7359.

SBC imgidh ocus fhoillsighidh d'Eoin gach ní 'go, and reveal everything to John' 1916.

BC Bentor capall as an tweisrig 'let a horse be unyoked from the team' p. 64, l. 6.

<sup>1</sup>M.L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, *ÉC* III p. 246.

<sup>2</sup>Watkins, *Celtica* VI p. 44 ff.; see Origin of Absolute and Conjunct above p. 3 ff., esp. p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>For 2nd plural forms in the modern language, see IDPP p. 58 ff.; O'Rahilly cites previous works on this subject by Bergin, Ó Máille and Sommerfelt, *ibid.* p. 58 n. 1.

- TBB díontar leó sibh in bhar riachtanas 'let you be sheltered by them in your need' 3694.
- PB tugaidh aire go díthchiollach do na bréithribh 'pay attention earnestly to the words' 693.
- SB tair chúm amáireach 'come to me tomorrow' p. 17, l. 14.
- EM Tabhair mo bheannacht do 'chuile duine 'give my greetings to everybody' p. 15, l. 9.
- GG innis do scéal 'tell your story' p. 119, l. 6 (2).

#### Examples of Negative Imperative Sentences

- Wb na seichem na hí siu 'let us not follow these' 25 a 6.
- Ml na imresnad 'let him not gainsay' 139 a 12.
- LL nad raidsiu sin a meic bío 'do not say that, little boy' 8464.
- PH na hadair dee bréci 'do not adore false gods' 7310.
- SBC na fech ar mu maidnechtaighe 'look not upon my negligence' 5683.
- BC na lenudh nech ar bith me 'let no one follow me' p. 230, l. 10.
- TBB ná cuiridh bhar gcroidhe ionnta 'do not put your hearts into them' 9979.
- PB ná fág mé ar mo chumas féin 'leave me not to my own devices' 944.
- SB ná bíoch eagal 'ort' 'do not be afraid' p. 3, l. 31.
- EM ná tugaidh aon áird feasta ar chomhrádh bhur námhad 'pay no attention any more to your enemies' conversation' p. 64, l. 10.
- GG ná bíodh deifre ort 'do not be in a hurry' p. 99, l. 28 (2).

(b) The modal perspective implicit in willing (see p. 156 above) explains the use of the subjunctive in commands; such orders do not demand immediate fulfillment as is the case with the imperative. When the subjunctive is employed with a positive command, no ro-forms are used (see

p. 156). Frequently the Old Irish command with the subjunctive is the equivalent of the Latin imperative in -to; it is used in this manner in legal rules.<sup>1</sup> Examples.

Wb.<sup>2</sup>

- M1 sofra-siu 'set free' gl. liberato 61 c 15.  
conoscaige-siu 'remove' gl. admoveto 32 a 3.

The jussive subjunctive has ni, ní or nicon, nícon as a negating particle in Old Irish<sup>3</sup>; this is generally found with ro forms. Mm. Jonval explains this from the fact that in a prohibition the prevention of a consequence is the prime factor; hence the image of the complete result can dominate the sentence and perfective forms generally occur.<sup>4</sup> This usage is not found in the texts after PH. Examples:

- EF\* loch rudraige fil ad crich ní dechais fai 'you shall not go under Loch Rudraige which is in your own territory' Ériu, XVI p. 38.  
 Wb ni tidbarid far mbaullu in irgail ar beolu diabuil 'ye shall not display your members in conflict before the Devil' 3 b 11.  
ní rohéla uáit 'let it not escape thee' 30 a 10.  
 LU nim dersaige fri uathad 'do not awaken me for one' 5199.  
 VT nirim adnaigid ... co tí Pátraic 'let ye not bury me until Patrick comes' 2085.  
 PH ni ro-techta occut feirg 'let you not hold anger' 4094.

<sup>1</sup>OIG 516.2; LP par. 436.

<sup>2</sup>See example p. 156.

<sup>3</sup>OIG 862.

<sup>4</sup>EC III p. 252; see also p. 156 above; for other examples see Contrib. N-O-P p. 42, l. 65 ff.

\*Echtra Fergusa Maic Léiti, Ériu XVI p. 38; the editor D.A. Binchy has noted this example of the perfective jussive subjunctive with ni.



Na may be found with the subjunctive introducing commands often with perfective forms<sup>1</sup>; the examples are from Middle Irish, and it is difficult to distinguish this type from negative wishes (see below).

#### Examples:

SR nar-bar dúrcridig 'be ye not obdurate' 4842.

LL na badat lonsu 'let you not be angry' 8508.\*

AS ná ro tréice do ruire 'do not forsake your lord' 592.

#### Wishes

Thurneysen has observed that "ro converts the hortative subjunctive into an optative," hence the perfective subjunctive in wishes which bear upon the completion of the action expressed in the verb.<sup>2</sup> Yet, at an earlier period non-perfective subjunctives are found in wishes where it is the action itself which is primarily considered and not its accomplishment (see above p. 52<sup>1</sup>). This is illustrated by the glossing of archaic non-perfective optatives with ro-forms: an indication that the distinction was no longer felt between the perfective and non-perfective subjunctive in wishes. Thus in the line sén Dé donfé fordonté 'may the blessing of God guide us, may it help us' Thes. II p. 299, 29, the verb donfé is glossed ronfuca leis 'may he take us with Him'.

Co n- > go n- introduces wishes in modern Irish. Both the Old Irish type without co n- and the later usage are to be found in PH. SBC has only co. Go n- is used with the present subjunctive.

Ní introduces negative wishes in Old Irish; ná supersedes this and is used exclusively in modern Irish in combination with ro in the form nár followed by the present subjunctive<sup>3</sup> which is lenited.

<sup>1</sup>Contrib. N-O-P p. 2, l. 51.

<sup>2</sup>OIG 531; ÉC III *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>apart from ná raibh 'may it not be' where the ro is contained in the verb itself.

\*But this example is cited as an imperative by Mrs. O'Daly, Eriu XIV p. 92, l. 230 f.

## Examples:

- Wb da roigea dia doib 'may God forgive it to them' 31 a 2.
- VT roisam huili in nóntaid sein 'may we all reach that unity' 3092.
- LL rop da buaid 7 choscúir 'let it be for a victory and a triumph' 8558.
- PH rob fir, rob fir 'let it be true! let it be true!' (XIX) 2928.  
co ra-p fir amal atrubrabar 'may it be true as you have said' (XIX) 2774.
- SBC co tuga Dia sin duit 'may God grant you that' 1631.
- BC go mbendaighe Dia thú 'may God bless you' p. 222, l. 32.
- TBB go mbuailidh Dia uireasbaidh ort 'may God strike a defect upon you' 9701.
- SB go maire tu slán bío 'may you live in perfect health' p.73, l. 11.
- EM go raibh tú féin agus an teach ... ag an tubaiste 'misfortune be on yourself and on the house' p. 51, l. 22.
- GG gur ba mór do ghlóir ar Neamh 'that your glory were great in heaven' p. 120, l. 16 (2).

## Negatives

- nimthairle éc na amor  
nimthair mortlaid na galar  
 'May neither death nor pain befall me  
 May neither mortality or sickness come to me' Thes. II, 352.
- VT nim tairle do mallacht 'may your curse not come upon me' 863.  
Saxain náro trebat Héirinn 'The Saxons, may they not inhabit Ireland' 1336.
- SBC nar leigi Dia 'may God not allow'

- BC narub ingnadh leatsa sin 'may that not be a wonder to you'  
p. 188, l. 12.
- TBB nár dhearnaidh tú foghmae uirre 'may you not reap it' 9706.
- SB nára teacht a d'shláinte duit 'may you not come into your  
health' p. 63, l. 6.

### Answers

In Old Irish dependent forms of the verb occur in replies as well as the independent forms; this usage has been termed the 'responsive' (see p. 1 above) and is considered a survival of the injunctive by Watkins.<sup>1</sup> (See no. 2 p. 1 and (2) p. 2 above.) This is not found after

PH. Examples:

- VT 'in fail naill didu doberthar dam? 'Fail' ol int ángel  
"is there anything else then that may be given to me?"  
"There is" said the angel' 1328.
- BL nach tussu darreccoisc? nad mé omm 'is it not you that instructed him?' 'it is not I, indeed' 8506.  
in wagaib na comaisin? nad ra gaib écin 'did he accept those conditions? he did not accept at all' 9060.
- PH cindus tocbas ...? nach fetur sa 'how shall he raise? I do not know that' 719.

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<sup>1</sup> Celtica VI 43; OIG 780; V GK ii, 249; M. Draake, Ériu XVI, p. 75 ff.



## CHAPTER XII

## ADJECTIVE CLAUSES

An adjective clause may qualify the subject or object of the principal clause in a complex sentence. A true adjective or relative clause has this function. The Celtic languages have no declinable relative pronoun; hence a number of constructions designed to express the relative relation, where other languages can use the oblique case of their relative pronoun.<sup>1</sup> In Irish there is a basic difference between two types of relative sentence, which it is important to distinguish at the start (the character of the distinction will be discussed more fully below).

- (1) The antecedent is in apposition to the subject or direct object of the verb of the relative clause.
- (2) The antecedent stands in some other relation to the relative clause.

In a relative sentence, when the subject is the same as the antecedent ('it is he who goes'), the verb is in the 3rd person even when the antecedent is 1st or 2nd person, i.e. 'it is I who goes' not 'it is I who go' as in English. When the antecedent is 1st or 2nd person plural the verb of the relative clause, with the exception of the copula, is 3rd singular.

Is me as apstal geinte (lit. 'it is I who is the apostle of the Gentiles') 'I am the apostle of the Gentiles' Wb 5 b 17.

bad sissi con-éit (sg.) 'let it be ye that shall be indulgent' Wb 5 b 17.

it sib ata chomarpí 'it is ye that are heirs' Wb 19 c 20.

When the antecedent is plural in all other cases in Old Irish the verb in the relative clause is plural (OIG 496).

Negative relative sentences employ ná, nád (nach-forms with infixed pronouns, see below), and nádchon; when followed by ro the latter may be stressed or else it is an unstressed enclitic<sup>2</sup> (see above pp. 115-8).

<sup>1</sup>The nearest approach to a relative pronoun is sa n- discussed under III below (see p.171): also a n- 'those, who, that which' probably of the same origin (see p.187).

<sup>2</sup>OIG 493; 863.

### Omission of the Antecedent

A noun in the nominative, accusative, or dative case may be replaced by a verb in the relative form; on occasion when there is no antecedent expressed in the main clause the relative may be (a) the subject or (b) the direct or (c) indirect object of the principal sentence.<sup>1</sup>

Examples:

- (a) gonas géntair '(he) who slays shall be slain' ZCP XI, p. 86, par. 40.
- (b) is firithir ad-fiadar 'it is as true as (anything) which is told' EIL p. 84, 5 c.
- (c) mairg iuras in t-orguin 'woe (for him) who shall reave the reaving' TBDD 705.

### Infixd Pronouns in Relative Sentences

There are special forms of the infixd personal pronouns which are exclusive to relative construction: Class C<sup>2</sup> (see the paradigm of these, OIG 413). Their use is constant in the third person pronouns where the non-relative forms belong to Class A; they are used optionally with the first and second persons. Class C is employed frequently replacing all forms of Class B. Examples:

- Wb dondí rod-n-dolbi 'to him who has formed it (masc.)' 4 c 26.  
do-da-aidlea 'who visits her' 9 d 5.
- Ml nu-dam-chrocha 'which crucifies me' 32 d 28.  
adid-n-opair 'who offers himself' 66 b 4.

Negative Examples:

- Wb indí nachid-chualatar 'those who heard it not' 25 d 14.
- Ml as nacha tucad Dia 'out of which God had not brought them' 125 b 7.

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 496; G. Murphy, EIL p. 210. The (c) example above may in fact be an example of (b), since mairg is also found with the accusative.

<sup>2</sup>OIG 493 (3); Contrib. N-O-P, p. 6, l. 14 ff.

### Description of Relative Clause Types

I: The expression of relativity when the antecedent represents the subject or the direct object of the verb of the relative clause, i.e. the only type felt to be truly relative.

#### A.

In all parts of the simple verb (except those dealt with under B. below) the verb takes its conjunct form, made dependent on no when positive non-perfective, on ná when negative, and on ro when perfective. In all parts of the compound verb, the verb is deuterotonic when positive, and prototonic depending on ná when negative. Relativity is marked as follows: (1) when the antecedent represents the subject, the first consonant of the tonic syllable of the verb is lenited; (2) when the antecedent represents the direct object, the first consonant of the tonic syllable is either lenited or nasalised.<sup>1</sup> This applies equally whether the verb is active or passive in Old Irish.

The verbs fo-fera 'causes' and do esta 'is wanting' have an infixed leniting d (apparently only in the subject relation), at least in the Glosses: so fod-era 'which causes' and dod-esta 'which is wanting' (OIG 425). This is sometimes retained even when an infixed pronoun is present, e.g. fom-d-era 'which makes me' Ériu VII, 240, par. 1.

The invisible leniting and nasalising elements are treated as infixes: that is to say, in simple verbs they follow the no prefixed to the positive and the ná, etc. prefixed to the negative (the verb being therefore conjunct); and in compound verbs in the positive they follow the first preposition, the proclitic, and ná, etc. in the negative. The particle no may however be dispensed with in poetry, e.g. ata saidbre saigthe 'whose riches it is that ye seek' Fél. Prol. 162 (OIG 493).

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<sup>1</sup>except that a n- and aní 'that which' must take lenition; this is overruled in the case of a n- 'that which' before a simple verb, by the fact that a n- itself is a nasalising word (see p. below). An irregularity in this usage may be seen in the lenition of the pretonic compound-ing preposition in in rig chon-daigi 'the King Whom you seek' Thes. II 296, 5 (OIG 495 b).



Simple Verbs with no

In relative clauses in Old Irish, no was placed before the conjunct forms of the 1st and 2nd person singular and the 2nd person plural of the present indicative, the present subjunctive, and the future<sup>1</sup>; it always precedes the imperfect indicative, the secondary future, and the past subjunctive in non-relative construction (OIG 538). Examples:

Wb (2) is hed in so no chairigur 'this is what I reprimand' 11 d 1.

(2) leic uait inna tuari nocari 'cast from thee the food which thou lovest' 6 c 8.

(2) is hed inso a naithescc no berid uaimm 'this is the answer which ye take from me' 9 d 15.

VT (2) is becc no pridchai-siu do deseirce 'it is little that thou preashest of the love of God' 2877.

Simple Verbs with ro: Examples:

Wb (1) oín di aircinchaib Assiae insin ro chretset hi crist 'he is one of the leaders of Asia who believed in Christ' 7 b 11.

(1) is hé in peccad rogéni a nuile comaccobor 'it is sin which has wrought every concupiscence' 3 c 25.

Simple Verbs with na, nad, etc.

(See also pp. 115-18 above.) Examples:

Wb (2) na-ro- pridchissem-ni 'which we have not preached' 17 b 31.

(1) na hí nad-chrenat 'those who do not buy' 10 b 7.

Compound Verbs<sup>2</sup>

Wb (1) is hé sensus forchain etargne domini do chách 'that is the sensus which teaches knowledge of the Lord to all' 8 c 2.

<sup>1</sup>Old Irish Paradigms, ed. Strachan and Bergin, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup>In compound verbs the verb is deuterotonic when in independent construction, but already in Old Irish the prototonic is occasionally used instead without any prefix, and it may be lenited in later Old Irish on the analogy of simple verbs of the B forms, which were also lenited by this time, e.g. di neuch thórnther 'of what is denoted' Sg. 59 b 18 (OIG 493).

Wb (2) ni forcital oisa foirbthi forchanim duib 'it is not the teaching of perfect folk that I teach unto you' 8 c 3.

(2) cosmulius tra dombeir som hic 'a similitude then, which he puts here'

VT (1) is he cetna marb do chuaid fo úir 'he is the first dead person who went under the clay' 922.

#### Compound Verbs with ná, nád, etc.

Wb (1) ní nád accobra 'what he does not desire' 6 c 1.

VT (1) ríg ... ná déntais a réir 'of kings who had not conformed to his will' 3102.

#### The Origin of Lenition in Relative Clauses (A.)

Lenition was originally caused by a preceding final vowel; a non-palatal vowel in enclisis after the first element of the clause would explain lenition in relative clauses. Gaulish dugiiontiio 'who serve', a 3 pl. relative form, supplies evidence of a relative particle \*yo in Celtic (compare Middle Welsh y gwr a garei 'the man who loved' or 'whom she loved' with a leniting relative particle a). See p. 156 below for suffixation of this particle to the verb itself (OIG 509).

In compound verbs in imm-, ar- the infixed leniting element is actually visible, spelt e, a, i, o, even u: so imme-, ara- etc. (leniting). Thurneysen has pointed out that inde- < \*inde-yo is also found in archaic Old Irish, e.g. inde- cuirithur 'who puts in' ZCP XIV p. 373, par. 35. In Sg. as- has a general pretonic form assa- which in MI is confined to relative clauses; this is perhaps modelled on ara- (OIG 834, D.).

#### The Origin of Nasalisation in Relative Clauses (A.)

Nasalisation affected words following a final n- < \*n or \*m; its origin in this case is not certain. Thurneysen (OIG 510) discusses the hypotheses which may be put forward to explain it. The

infixation of the particle -sa n- (see below p.171) is a possibility but one would have to assume the loss of s in all positions (it disappears after vowels normally). Pedersen (KZ XXXV 394 ff.) suggests that originally, simple verbs with relative form were nasalised by preceding accusative or neuter nominative singular words; this would then become a mark of a certain type of relative and the nasalisation could have spread to the compound verbs, and to words following the relative forms of the copula. Thurneysen says "both of these explanations are somewhat forced" and suggests that there has been "confusion between various types of clause."

#### The Forms of the Infixed Pronouns

The Class C pronouns contain an element -d- which is also in the nád form of the negative; this is the connective \*de 'and' according to Watkins, i.e. 1 sg. pronoun -dom < \*de-me and nad < \*ne-de. The use of -d- as a formal mark of the relative is an innovation; the use of A forms (without -d-) in the first and second persons in relative clauses is accessory evidence for this, as is the existence of this -d- in non-relative B pronouns.<sup>1</sup>

. B.

In certain parts of the absolute simple verb there are, however, forms with special relative suffixes used only in relative sentences. The third persons singular and plural and in the earlier period the first person plural of the present indicative, the present subjunctive and the future, the third person singular of the preterite (and third person plural of the sigmatic preterite) and the passive preterite have these forms.<sup>2</sup> In deponents and passives the form used in these situations

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<sup>1</sup>Celtica VI, pp. 25-28; OIG 511.

<sup>2</sup>This list was compiled from attested paradigms in OIG; examples are given below p.157ff.



is identical with the conjunct except in the passive preterite which has special forms -thae, -thai. The copula has relative forms of its own:

3 sg.	3 pl.	
<u>as</u>	<u>ata</u> (at also in Ml.)	Pres. Indic.
<u>bes</u>	<u>bete</u> , <u>beta</u> , <u>bata</u>	Pres. Subj.
<u>bad</u>		Past Subj.
<u>bes</u> , <u>bas</u>	<u>beta</u> (bat in Ml.)	Future
<u>ba</u> , <u>bá</u>	<u>batar</u>	Pret. and Imperf. Indic.

All these forms are absolute, not conjunct, they cannot be used in dependent construction, and therefore cannot be, e.g., negative. The dependent construction is expressed by A.

The first person plural can only express the object relation, the man whom we see, since the subject relation it is we who see the man is expressed by the verb in the 3rd singular (see p. 150). As early as Milan the forms -mi and -me (relative) are confused: so, a mbás tiagme-ni do-áirci bethid dúib-si 'the death which we undergo causes life unto you' Wb 15 b 28, in contrast to the non-relative form in ni ed a met demnigni-ni 'it is not so much that we ascertain' Ml 35 b 1.<sup>1</sup>

#### Origin of Relative Forms

These relative endings may be divided into two groups (i) -es, -as and (ii) -e forms. The -s forms occur in the third person singular of the pres. indic., pres. subj., future, and sigmatic aorist. The -e forms are found in the first and third persons singular of the pres. indic. of téit 'go', i.e. téte, and of the substantive verb, i.e. file, in the 3rd sg. of the t- and suffixless preterites, e.g. berte 'who carried', luide 'who went' and perhaps in the relative preterite passive, e.g. brethae 'which was carried'.<sup>2</sup>

The particle \*yo (discussed above p. 154) has been suffixed to the simple verb thereby giving the relative -e forms; thus bertae < \*bheronti-yo 'who carry' corresponds exactly to Gaulish duglioniatio 'who serve'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Strachan, ZCP IV p. 67.

<sup>2</sup>OIG 769; 780; 684; 712.

<sup>3</sup>See Watkins, Celtica VI p. 24; OIG 509; 567.

According to Watkins "this was once suffixed to the 3rd singular present in -ti as is proved by athematic \*ten-ti-yo > téte as well as by the t- preterite e.g. barte < \*bersti-yo". He offers no explanation for the -s forms but considers them to be an innovation of obscure origin.<sup>1</sup>

#### Lenition in Type B Relative Clauses

In later Old Irish, the verb of a relative clause of type B must be lenited when it expresses the subject relation and it may be lenited when it expresses the object relation; if not lenited it is nasalised. In earlier Old Irish lenition is absent, and the only mutation is the optional nasalisation in the objective relation, e.g. intí cretfe 'he who believes' Wb 1 a 3. The lenition begins to appear in Milan in construction with intí, e.g. in ti charas nech 'he who loves one' Ml 30 c 3; in St. Gall it is becoming common in any construction and from the end of the ninth century it is quite regular.<sup>2</sup>

The origin of the lenition in the B construction is doubtless due to the analogy of the A construction. The nasalisation is believed to have arisen first where the immediately preceding antecedent was a nasalising word (e.g. a neuter or accusative), when nasalisation would arise mechanically.

Examples of type B sentences in (1) subject relation and (2) object relation:

-es, -as forms:

CG (1) ar fher feras in fuil 'for the man who inflicts the wound' 52.

(2) ataat dano cetheoir rechtgi gellas ri(g) fora thuatha(i)  
'there are moreover four ordinances which a king pledges upon his people' 515.

WB (1) bid uathad creitfes diib 'it will be few that will believe from among you' 4 d 5.

Ml (2) is i ciall gaibes in testimin so 'it is the sense that this text utters' 101 c 6-7.

<sup>1</sup>See Thurneysen's discussion of various opinions re the origin of the -s forms OIG 567.

<sup>2</sup>S. Ó Searcaigh, FEMN pp.126-7.

-e forms:

Laws (2) Conall Caech caechsíte be[í]ch 'C.C. whom bees had blinded'  
ALI IV 178.13.

Wb (1) innaní prechite pacem 'of those who preach peace' 5 a 5.

Ml (1) mug luide hua abracham 'a servant who went from Abraham'  
127 d 3.

### The Leniting Relative Particle do

Before describing the subsequent development of clauses of the various types discussed above, a short account may be given of the development in modern Irish of the leniting relative particle do > a; this is found in current speech in all the dialects.

The development of this particle was discussed by Quiggin who considered that it originated in the reduction of all the proclitic pre-verbs to schwa by the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> This could not be so, as do the relative particle is not yet completely reduced to a in Munster Irish.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest examples of this particle do in a position where it is unequivocally an expression of the relative relation may be as early as the fourteenth century. M. Dillon has noted the following example from the early portion<sup>3</sup> of the Book of Fermoy, i.e. trí catha immorro do brisid iar nul a nEsbáin 'the three battles that they win after going into Spain' Fermoy 5 b 2; another example supplied by R. Skerrett may be dated to 1440; i.e. as í an caidh do berim\* do rogain 'it is weeping that I choose' Liber Flavus ii 11 b 12.

This do is not in the verse of the schools nor in Keating, although it occurs in contemporary and earlier material.

<sup>1</sup>E.C. Quiggin, Die lautliche Geltung der Vortonigen Wörter, Greifswald, 1900.

<sup>2</sup>M. Dillon, Éigse X p. 123 f.

<sup>3</sup>ibid.

\*The verb is not do-berim in this context; in other examples it is always berim, Éigse X, ibid.



In Middle Irish the disintegration of the Old Irish relative constructions with proclitic preverbs accompanies the re-formation of many compounds as simple verbs, the creation of new simple verbs, from the verbal nouns of compounds (see p. 37), and in compounds themselves the obliteration of the distinction between the preverbs; thus ro, no, fo, ad, etc. are used indiscriminately. Sentences occur where preverbs are used in a context which would have required no preverb in Old Irish, e.g. do foirind ... no chreit 'to a company which believes' PH 3748 (Old Irish uses the special relative form of type B sentences); one finds do where ro formerly accompanied the perfect tense, e.g. na bannscalú do-lon he 'the women who followed him' PH 2910 (this type of relative sentence with the verb in the past tense supplies a prototype for relative sentences with do followed by a verb in the present and future tenses). Similarly do is used instead of the other preverbs in some of the remaining compound verbs, e.g. do ghébhá ní 'she will receive a thing' AS 429 (compare fo-gheibh still in use in later material). Dillon ascribes this ubiquity of do to the fact that "to is the commonest preverb in Old Irish".<sup>1</sup>

#### Relative Sentences in Middle and Modern Irish

(1) The -(e)as forms (B) in use with the present indicative and future in lenited relative clauses have continued to be used in Irish until the present day in Connacht and in Ulster. In Munster this is not so, since the non-relative ending of the third person singular has replaced it in both tenses. However, the leniting relative do > a which precedes the relative clause in all three dialects makes the relativity clear in the Munster usage.

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<sup>1</sup>ibid. p. 123;

The reasons for this Munster development have been discussed by O'Rahilly<sup>1</sup>; he suggests that "once E. Mod. Ir. mholas 'who praises' and do mholas 'whom I praised' had fallen together as a mholas, the resultant ambiguity was remedied by confining the -as ending to the 1 sg. preterite."

The particle do in subject-relation to the antecedent does not occur with the relative form of the verb in the selected texts before PB; an example of this from Duanaire Finn, possibly of fifteenth century date,<sup>2</sup> is included below. The Connacht text EM contains an example of the Munster usage with a non-relative verb in -eann.<sup>3</sup> To be noted in PB are occurrences of noch and noch do 'which' preceding the relative forms (see p.189). Examples<sup>4</sup>:

- VT (1) ireas na Trinóiti insin bruthnaiges innam-sa 'that is the Faith of the Trinity that glows within me' 224.
- (2) bid misi bendachfas caille fora cend 'it will be myself that will consecrate a veil upon her head' 1964.
- LL (1) Is sí doirtes curru fair 'it is she who pours out cups to him' 9426.
- (2) bendacht ar cech óen mebraigfes go hindraic Táin amlaidseo 'a blessing upon everyone who conscientiously commits the Tain to memory in this manner' 12414.
- (3) naco fagaither acaibsi nech gabas in n-eirriud rigdaide út imme 'until there is found by you somebody who may don that regal attire' 11240.

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<sup>1</sup>IDPP p. 219; he places this change in "quite recent times"; an example of the -eas form occurs exceptionally in SB. A seeming occurrence of the innovation in PB, i.e. ar dhaoineibh ghlacann fearg 'on people who become angry' 1365, stems from a faulty text (see notes 1365-7 p. 141); but this form occurs in relative sentences expressing the object relation in this text: see below p.164.

<sup>2</sup>Eigse X, p. 123

<sup>3</sup>O'Rahilly notes that "a contaminated ending -anns is common in Connacht for -as (present)" IDPP p. 220.

<sup>4</sup>Lenited examples of (1)pres., (2)fut., and (3)subj. have been collected from each text where possible.

- PH (1) in spirut noem bethaiges na huile anmand 7 inorchaides iat  
'the Holy Ghost Who sustains all souls and enlightens them'  
237.
- (2) cech duine shirfess ní fort 'everyone who will entreat you  
for something' 462.
- AS (1) in mí chongbus na tri hessca 'the month which contains the  
three moons' 6313.
- (2) gurub é bias ós mu cinn a nim 7 a talmain 'may it be he  
that will be over me in heaven and on earth' 2261.
- SBC (1) is e thogbhus pecaigh an domuin 'it is He Who takes away  
the sins of the world' 1424.
- (2) don cinidh cuirfius toradh maith fair 'to the people who will  
conclude it well' 2557.
- (3) ni hi mu toil-si bes air, acht bur toil-si 'it is not my will  
that be upon it but Thy will' 3417.
- DF (1) a Patraic do dhealbhus grian 'O Patrick who shapes the sun'  
LX, 20.
- BC (2) ni ba mesi cuirfes a hErind iat 'it will not be myself who  
will banish them from Ireland' p. 354, l. 10.
- (3) gach ben bess ac cur lenib a mbréic docum fir go brath  
'every woman who may ever deceitfully attribute a child  
to a man' p. 380, l. 10.
- TBB (1) an bhaintreabhthach mhaireas i sádhaile atá sí marbh 'the  
widow who lives in luxury, she is dead' 1503.
- (2) ní hé Augustín ghlaofas 'it is not Augustine who will accept'  
5153.
- PB (1) trí bhia noch thig asteach go milis 7 ghearras faoi dheire  
'through food which enters sweetly but which at length  
cuts' 1282.



- PB (1) machtíre noch d'ithios feóil na ocaorach, d'ólas a goid fola, ghearras a ccoiccionn, stiallas a ccnámha 'a wolf which eats the sheeps' flesh, drinks their blood, shreds their fleece and rends their bones' 1107.
- bainchléireach do chuirfeas síos gach ní 'a clerkess who will record everything' 509.
- SB (1) rod' éigint a bhuineas leis fein 'something which concerns himself' p. 41, l. 41.
- (1) bolagam a loiscean iad 'a mouthful of drink which burns them' p. 54, l. 33.
- (2) sé an ainim a bheig er an gcuisléan so 'it is the name which will be on this castle' p. 77, l. 26.
- (2) si an chaor go mharóig e\* 'it is the bolt that will kill him' p. 29, l. 2.
- EM (1) na gabhair fhiadhána a bhíos go sgaollmhar 'the wild goats that are wont to be shy' p. 44, l. 3.
- (2) Connarthóir ar bith a bheas ag labhairt an Bhéarla 'any member of the Gaelic League who will be speaking English' p. 36, l. 17.
- (1) An saoghal do-fheicsionach ud a chuireann imidhe agus buaidhreamh ar a lán daoine 'that invisible world which perturbs and troubles many people' p. 66, l. 5.
- GG (2) braon uisce a nighfeas na soithigh 'a drop of water which will wash the dishes' p. 41, l. 4.
- (1) an dreach sin a bhíos ar fhear láidir i láthair mná 'that appearance which is wont to be on a strong man in the presence of a woman' p. 118, l. 24.

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\*This is an exceptional example for the subject relation (see p. 177 below for this type of sentence).

### Plural Subject as Antecedent

When the antecedent is a plural subject in Old Irish the relative verbal form is plural; this begins to break down in the LL Táin where two examples occur with a singular verb; there are about twice as many with a plural verb in PH than there are with a singular one. The plural is the exception in SBC but it occurs as late as TBB in this context, e.g. na huile áitighid innnte 'all who live there' 10067.

### Object Relation

When the antecedent is in object relation to the verb in the relative clause the Old Irish usage was (1) no with the 1st and 2nd persons singular and the 2nd person plural, and (2) special relative forms of the 3rd persons singular and plural and of the passive. In Middle Irish no is lost before the verbal form in (1) and the conjunct form<sup>1</sup> is used instead of the relative form in the first and third plural forms; thus there is really no mark of the relative apart from lenition (which is rarely shown in the manuscripts), e.g. na hii chreti 'those which thou believest' PH 1141.

Beside these 'unmarked' verbs in a relative clause the third person singular -es form continues in use and acquires a subject pronoun: so an fear beres 'the man who carries' or 'the man whom he carries'. Subject pronouns of the other persons appear with the -es form and a relative paradigm may be built up for all the persons. The examples from the texts do not supply adequate material to date this accurately and the earliest of such forms occurs with the second person singular in AS with a future relative verb.<sup>2</sup> The first person singular form occurs in BC, the third singular in SBC. The non-relative form noted

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<sup>1</sup>This occurs in the LL Táin in all three cases. (The 3 pl. relative form occurs in poetry twice, in the same expression 'cardda raínd' LL 8979, 10823; this is caraid in H.217; perhaps it means 'whom quatrains love' ? TBC, ed. Windisch p. 209, n. 5.)

<sup>2</sup>O'Rahilly notes that this relative breaks down again in Donegal and S.E. Ulster, e.g. goidé dhéanfa tú 'what will you do?' IDPP p. 219. See also Gnás par. 447 for this.

above is found in PB, preceded by do. An analytic relative of the first person plural has not been noted in the texts, and it is interesting to note that the conjunct form is used after the relative particle with the 1 pl. in SB below. Examples<sup>1</sup>:

PI do example p. , l. above.

AS bennacht fhácmair acaibhse '(it is) a blessing we leave with you' 1935.

in tricha céit thoghfus tu féin innti 'the cantred which you will choose there, yourself' 3580.

SBC is mise iarús tu 'it is I whom thou seekest' 4982.

an dara modh foillsighius se 'the second way which it shows' 6096.

BC gach ní indeósus me duit 'everything that I shall tell you' p. 240, l. 24.

as mór an ní iarras tu 'it is a great thing that you ask' p. 240, l. 23.

tre fhad na heiteoicce berus sí 'through the length of the flight she will have made' p. 268, l. 25.

TBB na neithe chluinfeas tú 'the things you shall hear' 1848.

PB millionn sé an té do chreimnionn sé 'it destroys the person which it gnaws' 1532.

SB an ainim a ghlaofam er an Aifirean 'the name that we shall call the mass' p. 64, l. 11.

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<sup>1</sup>Forms with lenition, but having no distinctive ending or particle to denote the relative are included where possible.



## II. The Genitive Relation in Relative Sentences<sup>1</sup>

There was no form of relative pronoun to express genitival relation in Old Irish and occasionally a principal clause occurs where a relative clause might be expected, e.g. biit alaili and rofinnatar a pecthe 'there are some whose sins are known' (lit. 'there are some their sins are known') Wb 29 a 28; ataat réte hic, ní réid a m-brith fri corpu 'there are things here of which the referring to bodies is not easy' (lit. 'there are things here. Their referring to bodies is not easy') Wb 13 d 4 (OIG 505; 507).

The following constructions are employed to express the genitival relation, i.e. English "whose":

- (1) When the predicate is an adjective and the subject of the definition is a noun, the copula is relative and the genitive is not expressed. This is the usage known as the 'nominative of respect' and it is found throughout the history of the language.<sup>2</sup>

- Wb don bráthir ... as éinrt menme 'to the brother whose mind is weak' (lit. 'who is weak as to mind') 10 c 1.
- Ml is ed as maam serc la tuistidi 'that is what is most loved by parents' (lit. 'which is greatest as to love') 99 b 5.
- LL briathar is mó gén 7 tarcassul 'the word which is greatest as to derision and offence' 8942.
- PH in mnai ba ra-mor grad lais 'the woman whose love was very strong in him' (lit. 'who was very great as to love') 841.
- AS fer is mó doichell 7 díbe ro bóí a nEirinn hé 'the man whose inhospitality and niggardliness are the greatest in Ireland' (lit. 'who is greatest as to inhospitality ...') 7300.
- SBC descibal Dia is treisi tribloid ann 'the disciple of God whose trouble is most active' (lit. 'it is strongest as to trouble there') 2244.

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<sup>1</sup>KZ, XLIV p. 115 ff.; OIG 507; L. McKenna, Bardic Syntactical Tracts, Dublin 1944, p. 274 ff.

<sup>2</sup>OIG 507 (b); G. Murphy, DF III p. cxx.

TBB pian ... is coimneas neimh 7 géire re ghoimh theineadh purgadóra 'a pain whose poison and sharpness is comparable with the anguish of the fire of Purgatory' (lit. 'which is comparable as to poison and sharpness') 4413.

PB gi be aco budh géire inntleacht 'whichever of them whose intellect was most acute' (lit. 'who was most acute as to intellect') 639.

GG ar an fhear a ba lú cíocras acu 'on the man among them whose eagerness was least' (lit. 'who was least as to eagerness') p. 112, l. 23 (2).

In poetry the possessive pronoun a may be added to the copula, e.g.:

Fel. na fele ass-a fortren taitnem 'of the feasts whose radiance is mighty' Prol. 330.

ata (ata-a) n-aidble briga 'whose vigours are vast' Epil. 34 (OIG 507 (b)).

- (2) The relative form of the copula (3 sg. or 3 pl.) followed by a possessive adjective is placed before the noun which may be a predicative nominative or which may be brought into predicative construction by a special relative clause.<sup>1</sup>

This construction is used in the texts until TBB but it does not seem to be in SBC. Miss C. O'Rahilly<sup>2</sup> has drawn attention to the fact that this construction in the LL Táin, i.e. mo chin in rí asa gasced 7 trelam so. Mo chin tir asa tania 'blessed the king whose weapons and trappings these are' (lit. 'that it is his weapons and trappings this') 'Blessed the land from which he came' LL 8502, has been changed in the 15th century Stowe version to mo cion tir 7 taladh dianad righ an ti darab trealamh gaisgidh so 'Blessed the land to whom is king

<sup>1</sup>OIG 507 c; Ó Searcaigh, FEMN p. 129; O'Rahilly, Desid. p. xxv.

<sup>2</sup>The Stowe Version of Táin Bó Cuailnge, Dublin 1961, Introduction p. xlv. For the dating of Stowe by Thurneysen see p. xxxi.

he of whom this is his fighting equipment' Stowe 982-3. This is indicative that the oblique relation indicated by a preposition is preferable at this period. It might be added that the four examples noted in O'Donnell all occur with the word anam/ainm. On the other hand, T.F. O'Rahilly remarks that "sa is used thirteen times in the sense of 'whose' in Desiderius.<sup>1</sup> This may perhaps be due to some quirk of Conry's style or to a Spanish turn of phrase; at all events it does not occur nearly so commonly in the texts examined at any stage of the language. Examples<sup>2</sup>:

Fél. Zenobi ata (ata-a)scél ro c[h]lotha 'of Zenobius whose tidings (lit. 'they are his tidings that') have been heard' Aug. 24.

Ml intí as-a ainm bis isnaib titlaib 'he whose name is in the superscriptions' (lit. 'it is his name that is in the superscriptions') 2 c 3.

LU in gilla-sa ata (ata-a) chomrama oen-aidche so ule 'this lad whose fights of a single night (lit. 'they are his fights') all this is' 9155.

LL See example above.

PH tánic in bannscal isa mac no-s-icc Georgi don daille 'the woman came whose son St. George had cured of blindness' 1354.  
do'n lucht is a comdidnad 7 is a sailechtu fil i nDia 'to those whose consolation and hope ('it is their consolation and hope') are in God' 6512.

AS in ben issa fert 7 isa scela sin 'the woman whose grave and whose story these are' 2173.

nech issa caradrad do biad fria Find 7 frissin Feinn 'anyone whose friendship would be with Find and the Fianna' 2139.

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<sup>1</sup>Desid. p. xxv.

<sup>2</sup>The negative form of this phrase is seen in the following example from Old Irish: Airennan assa clu nad celar 'A. whose fame is not concealed' Féil. Aug. 24 (FEMIN p. 129).



BC an ben 'sa hanam ataid aingli De do breith leo 'the woman whose soul the angels are carrying' p. 228, l. 3.

Desid. an mhaighden-so 'sa hainm an Tnúith 'this maiden whose name is envy' 1652.

TBB an t-anam do thabairt don tí 'sa dhealbh atá ann 'to deliver the soul to Him Whose image is in it' 1354.

- (3) In negative examples, later than the Old Irish period, Thurneysen has noted a construction "in which the object is left in its own position, the genitive remaining unexpressed."<sup>1</sup>

ML biad nar rancadar les 'food of which they had no need' 97 d 7.

LL lócharnn lansnolusta nad chungaitis súli dóeni déscin 'a shining light that human eyes could not look at' 9803.

TTr gaí ... na cumcaitis curaid comlúth 'a spear which warriors could not move' Stokes, 1730.

Anecd. ionad ... na lamait demhna descin 'a place whereon demons dare not gaze' II 22.

- (4) In Middle Irish another negative construction is to be observed in which the relative negative particle introduces a clause containing the possessive adjective in apposition to the antecedent and governing the noun in genitival relation.

The incidence of this type is sporadic but it is found in PH, BC and in the Ulster text GG.<sup>2</sup> This must be a nasalising negative clause although the illustrative material does not show it below. Examples:

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<sup>1</sup>OIG p. 322; KZ, XLIV p. 116, for the last two examples; in all of these sentences if the antecedent were not in the first position, i.e. if they were straight negative clauses, the 'antecedent' would be in the genitive case, e.g. ní rancadar les bíd, etc.

<sup>2</sup>This type does not seem to be described in the sources cited.

PH aingil, na facus reme na iarum a n-inshamail 'angels the like of whom were never seen before or afterwards' 1900.

maith.na fuidbe a chontrardai 'good ... the opposite of which you would not get' 7413.

BC lomnan do piasdaibh ... nach faca se fen no duine eli a leithéid riamh 'full of reptiles, the like of which neither ne nor any-one else had ever seen' p. 280, l. 2.

lomnan do shoillse nach fetar a tuaruscbail d'indeisin 'full of light, the description of which cannot be related' p. 418, l.6.

GG cailín ... nach raibh a humhail ar rud ar bith 'a girl whose attention was (centred) on nothing at all' p. 18, l. 23.

- (5) Positive relative clauses which contain the possessive adjective expressing the genitival relation, are introduced by agá\*, dá, go, and a (which are ultimately derived from agá probably, see p. 177 below), followed by nasalisation. These occur in TBB, PB, in Munster Irish, and in Connacht and Ulster<sup>1</sup> in that order.

Examples:

TBB íomháigh ... agá raibhe a ceann d'ór 'an image whose head was of gold' 4034.

PB annsa tí dá mbíonn a chorp 'na mháighistir air 'in him whose body is his master' 1227.

EM Mo mhallacht do lucht na mbréag agus dóibh seo a mbíonn cúl a gcainnte leo 'My curse upon liars and upon those whose hypocrisy is with them' p. 94, l. 16.

GG eadar dhá mheall a rabh a goúl meilte 'between two masses whose polls were merged' p. 36, l. 3.

<sup>1</sup> See Grain. par. 661: sin e an fear arb amhránaí a iníon 'that is the man whose daughter was a singer'; although such a clause has not been noted in SB, similar sentences introduced by go occur in Munster Irish, e.g. an fear go bhfuil a mhac chun pósadh 'the man whose son is to be married' quoted in Teach Yourself Irish, Dillon-O Gróinín (London 1961), p. 147.

\*A negative sentence of this type is found in BC: anum glan ag nach beith a corp uime 'a pure spirit whose body would not be about it' p. 154, l. 6.

GG Dubhachóite, an capall áluinn seo, a dteachaidh a chliú  
sodar sheacht lá 'D. this beautiful horse whose fame travelled  
 far and wide' p. 114, l. 2.

- (6) If the predicate is a possessive pronoun, the verb is relative and is followed by both the unstressed and the stressed forms of the possessive pronoun 'aí, áe' being the forms for the 3rd singular and the 3rd plural.<sup>1</sup>

Laws cáich as-a aí 'of each person whose property it is' ALI  
 IV, 314, 15.

Anecd. intí bess-a- haí Cassel 'he whose Cashel will be' LII 63, 14.

- (7) In Modern Irish the construction in which the nasalizing relative particle is followed by the copula with a prepositional pronoun predicate, takes the place of (6) above. The preposition in question may also be used to introduce the copula. 'De' and 'le' are found with this usage, (a) 'le' implying possession while (b) 'de' has a partitive connotation in the following examples:

(a) BC don oglach sin ler leis an choill 'to that youth whose (lit. 'with whom') the wood is' p. 70, l. 18.

SB don bhfear gur leis í 'to the man whose (lit. 'with whom') she is' p. 54, l. 9.

EM an fear a mba leis an rothar gluaisteáin 'the man whose (lit. 'with whom') the motor bicycle was' p. 69, l. 12.

(b) SB a mífntire gur díobh í 'her people of whom she was' p. 71, l. 5.

EM cé d'ar dhíobh mé 'of whom am I' p. 67, l. 15.

For the genitive of the relative, governed by a preposition, see below p. 178 ff.

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 507 (e); 443.



### III. The Indirect Object in Relative Clauses

Where in English the relative pronoun is the object of a preposition, e.g. 'the man to whom I gave it'\*, Old Irish has in positive sentences a particle functioning as a relative pronoun accusative or dative object of the preposition.<sup>1</sup> This appears as sa n- after non-leniting prepositions and a n- after leniting prepositions, so frisa n-, ara n-, etc. This is a conjunct particle; hence simple verbs are conjunct and compound verbs are prototonic after it. However, the preposition i n- does not take 'sa n-' in Old Irish; so i (d)ta not issa (d)ta. All other prepositions require the relative particle, e.g. ara n-, dia n-, oc(c)a n-, cosa n-, fris(s)a n-, lasa n-, tresa n-, fora/forsa n-, etera/etira n-. This element is invariable in gender, number, and case in its relative construction.

#### Origin of Sa n-

With regard to the origin of this particle, Pedersen (V GK par. 268, L-P par. 194) suggested that originally the preposition preceded the verb as a preverb and that there was no sign of the relative. He postulated the analogical spread of nasalisation from other constructions, i.e. those with nouns followed by the relative with adverbial force and figura etymologica. He pointed out that this did not occur with i n- and only very rarely in the negative. Thus, starting with the relative (subject and object) form of 'ar' which was wrongly thought to be ar an (ar followed by the neuter form of the demonstrative pronoun used as an article), the other prepositions would have given analogical formations. Vendryes (RC XXXI p. 513) did not accept this theory and shows that even though it might explain 'i n-', such a hypothesis cannot account for the negative forms, e.g. 'ar-an' giving 'arna' without a pronoun.

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 492; Pedersen, KZ XXXV, 373 ff.

\*a separate preposition governing the relative pronoun; not to be confused with the preposition in compound verbs in relative sentences, like imme-, ara-.

Thurneysen (OIG 492) has observed that the relative element attached to the preposition is equivalent in form to the nominative/accusative singular neuter of the article, i.e. a n- or sa n- depending on whether the ending of the preposition was in a vowel or a consonant. Watkins (*Celtica* VI p. 24), following Thurneysen, calls attention to the archaic form (s)e n- and equates it with the sin of the Gaulish demonstrative 'so-sin' as well as with the article in Old Irish.

In negative sentences sa n- is not used, and there is no particle at all: but simply the preposition plus negative plus verb: so fri na, arna not \*frisa na, \*ara na. The a may be dropped giving s n- or -n-, so 'fris n-, ar n-'. This may happen before the 'd' of infixed pronouns if a vowel follows; so ar nda -cumcabat 'that they may rise' Ml 46 a 12. Sa n-, a n- become si n-, i n- (except in dia n-, foa n-, oa n-) before the 'd' of Class C pronouns, e.g. arindepur 'for which I say it' and before the d, b of the copula, e.g. airndip 'so that it may be', armbad 'so that it might be' (OIG 492).

- (1) This construction is found in the selected texts up to and including TBB. The a n- is not shown with ó n-, fá le n- from Middle Irish onwards. The preposition chum occurs with relative a<sup>n</sup>- in the fifteenth century SBC. Examples:

CG Cid as a fordáiltea grad túa[i]the 'According to what were the ranks of a territory divided?' 6.

Cateat a fholta córai ó chach fris[s]a cuirther aitare?  
'What are the lawful duties of everyone for which a surety is given?' 57.

Wb is becc in bríge frissadéntar a saithar sin 'little is the value for which that labour is performed' 11 a 9.

is hed torbe nammáa tra aratobarr labrad ilbelre 'this, then, is the only profit for which speaking many tongues is given' 12 d 29.

- M1 roth cruind fersandenat na cerdai inna lestrai 'a round wheel on which the craftsmen make the vessels' 18 b 4.  
ní fel nech lasa mbed dliged remdeicsen 'there is no one with whom there is a law of providence' 19 d 2.
- VT in port asa n-accai Pátraic inna naimtiu 'the bank from which Patrick saw the enemies' 1500.  
in Spirut Nóeb ó tá cech degdán 'the Holy Spirit from Whom is every good gift' 1992.
- LL comainm ind atha dara sredestar Cu Chulaind in cloich assa thabail 'another name for the ford across which C.C. cast the stone from his sling' 8827.  
in t-aineach forsa ndechaid aineach Fergus 'the honour on which Fergus' honour went' 9228.
- PH cet anim for a h-iadad iffern 'the first soul on which Hell closed was' XIX 3227.  
a tuistige, o ngenair 'his parents from whom he was sprung' XXIII 2292.
- AS as í comairli arar' cinn Art 'it is the counsel on which Art decided' 180.  
mac don óclach oca mbái rígi na Féinne anallana 'the son of the warrior who had the kingship of the Fianna at one time' 1688.
- SBC an dara hadhbhur fa nguiledh se 'the second reason for which he used cry' 688.  
an ní cum a tainice tu, dena he 'that for which you came, do it' 3524.
- BC aenduine ar a n-dernad oiread faidhedoracta 'anyone concerning whom so much prophesying was done' p. 34, l. 36.  
don bethaidh docum a ndechaidh se on tshoegal-sa 'for the life to which he went from this world' p. 450, l. 29.



TBB an chomhairle ... le bhféadfadh a fhlaithneas do stiúradh 'the advice ... with which he could rule the kingdom' 267.

The negative counterpart of the above (1) construction is likewise found in all the texts until Keating. Examples:

CG ataat trí toichnedai frisná ruide tocrád rí 'there are three fastings at which the offended majesty of a king does not blush' 548.

Wb arnifil ceneel nabelre isinbiuth dinadricthe nech 'for there is neither race nor nation in the world of which some one shall not have been saved' 28 b 1.

ML ní digenamni nach ngnim forna mestarsom 'we shall do no work on which he will not pass judgment' 30 e 9.

VT toisc lim fer óenshetche donaructha acht óenmacc 'I desire a man with one wife to whom there was not born but one son' 2222.

LL do neoch donarbo chotlud 'of those who were not asleep (lit. 'to whom there was not sleep')' 10013.

PH don foirind fris nach oifited ar tidecht-ne 'the section to which our coming is not a pleasure' XIX 3397.

AS Diarmuit ... arna raibe scís ... riam 'D. on whom there was never weariness' 6583.

SBC na bronda o nach geinfidhir 'the wombs from which no one will be born' 3945.

TBB don tí do bhiaidh i ndaoirse ... 7 ag nach biadh ach droch-bhothán 'for one who would be in captivity and who would have only (lit. 'at whom there would not be but') a bad cabin' 2718.

The Old Irish usage (a) with in- continues into Classical Irish; a form ina-n appears in VT and is still current usage. Examples:

- (a) Wb isin beothu i taa ísu iar n-esséirgiu '(through believing) ... in the life in which Jesus is after resurrection' 3 c 2.
- ML nach dú i mbeí isnaib salmaib -- iustitia 'wherever iustitia is in the psalms' 109 a 2.
- VT Cell Fine i farcaib a libru 'Cell Fine in which he left his books' 295.
- LL is maith fer in taige i tam 'good is the man of the house in which we are' 7655.
- PH frissin lestar ut a mbui in oru coimdetta 'to that vessel in which the Blood of the Lord was' 262.
- AS isin phupaill a raibhi Pátraic 'into the tent in which Patrick was' 875.
- SBC inad ar gabhadh he 'the place in which he was taken' 3225.
- BC an aimser a ngeinter e 'the time in which he is born' p. 20, l. 19.
- TBB sna haimsearaibh i rabhdar 'at the times in which they were' 93.
- (b) VT in forbann gentlidi ina raibi 'the heathen superstition in which he was' 398.
- PH olc i n-a ndligend bas d'fhagbail 'evil for which (lit. 'in which') he must die' XXIV 2719.
- AS in baile seo a tá 7 ina fuarusa hé 'this place where he is and in which I found him' 5395.
- BC 'sa tumba in ar cuired é 'in the tomb in which he was buried' p. 14, l. 24.
- TBB raon 'na dttriallfadh an básaire 'the path in which the executioner would travel' 122.
- PB ar shoilbhriocht iona bhfuilte 'on the merriment in which you are' 286.
- EM an áit i n-a bhfeicfe agus a geluinfe an réiceach 'the place in which the cacophony could be seen and heard' p. 45, l. 27.

- (2) An extension of the construction in (1) repeats the preposition in a prepositional pronoun at the end of the relative clause, and the pronominal element agrees in number and person with the antecedent. This type spans the period from VT to PB. Examples:

- VT in foscud i rraibus ann 'the shadow in which one was' 53.  
 PH duine for a ta omun bais fair 'a person on whom there is fear of death (on him)' XX 3832.  
 BC mac ar a raibe gradh mor ag C.C. air 'a son for whom C.C. had great love (for him)' p. 246, l. 9.  
 TBB athair aga raibhe dias mac aige 'a father who had two sons' (lit. 'at whom there were two sons at him') 3445.  
 PB caisleán ar a mbi mórán tiaighearnaí air 'a castle over which there are many lords (over it)' 1302.

- (3) The generalisation of aga n- (as the introductory preposition plus relative particle) in clauses of type (2) with a different prepositional pronoun following, may be observed in the texts from BC to PB:

- BC Nech ... ag a fuil agaidh dearg 7 suile glasa 7 beacán do gruaig leith fair 'someone who has a florid face 7 grey eyes and a little grey hair' p. 254, l. 2.  
 TBB daoine agá mbi eagla na péine orra 'people who are afraid of pain' 4440.  
 PB a' seilthide aigeá mbionn ar ccumas don mhuic 7 don mhadra satailt air 'the snail which the pig and the dog are able to trample upon (it)' 1954.

The occasional occurrence of dá n- in this introductory capacity may be a variant of agá > gá similar to the interchange in the verbal noun phrase -atáim gá/dá dhéanamh 'I am doing it: thus an duine dá mbionn ruacánach feirge air 'the person on whom there is a fit of anger' PB 1425.



- (4) In the dialect texts the indirect object relation is expressed by oblique relative sentences introduced by go < agá in Munster Irish<sup>1</sup> and a < agá in Connacht and Ulster. These oblique sentences are always nasalised. Examples:

SB an fear so Pádarraig ... go bhfuil trácht mór tharais 'this man Patrick over whom there is great talk' (lit. 'that there is great talk over him') p. 61, l. 26.

rud éigint go raibh druiocht air 'something that there was magic on it' p. 8, l. 32.

EM ag taisteal na n-áiteann a raibh cliú agus cáil ortha 'traveling through places of fame and repute' (lit. 'that there was fame and repute on them') p. 26, l. 15.

GG fá sheandúine ... a mbíodh na daoine beaga ag comhrádh leis 'about an old man ... with whom the fairies used to converse' (lit. 'that the fairies used to converse with him') p.40, l.15.

The negative construction which corresponds to (2), (3), (4) is apparently found in a single example in St. Gall; it recurs in the LL Táin and occurs side by side with type (1) (see p.174 above); it is the only construction in current Irish to express indirect relation with the negative. Examples:

Sg ni fail ní nad tai mo dligeth-sa fair 'there is nothing that my law does not touch upon it' 26 b 7.

LL ro marb in n-archoin na laimtis sluaig i sochaide tascud i n-oentrichait cet fris 'who killed the watch-dog which host or troop dared not come upon in the one cantred' 8471.

PH a mac ... na cumcad cor de aice 'her son of whom she could get no good' XXX 1319.

AS in dorus ... nach fétfaitis fir dhomain foghail ná dibferg air 'the door that the men of earth could not (wreak) plunder or havoc upon it' 3539.

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<sup>1</sup>Bergin, Vocab. TBB, p. 361, ag 3.

BC méid ecin imresna nach roibe urchoíd mor indte 'some amount of quarrelling that there was not great harm in it' p. 60, l. 21.

SB aon tsíol daoine er dhruim an domhain ná titean cola ortha 'any race of people on the surface of the earth that sleep does not fall on them' p. 78, l. 33.

EM duine nach raibh aon mhaith ariamh ann 'a person that there was never any good in him' p. 33, l. 12.

### The Genitive of the Relative in Oblique Relation

This corresponds to English "whose" preceded by a preposition, e.g. the man in whose house I am. Irish supplies the following constructions to denote this idea:

- (1) The relative particle sa n- can act as the genitive of the relative when it is used after a preposition governing the noun to be qualified by the genitive. The relative is separated from the noun by a verb.<sup>1</sup> Most of these sentences have a verbal noun as the noun to be qualified by the genitive in later Middle Irish. Examples:

M1 ind rig fuarobatar mam 'the king under whose yoke they were' 85 d 10.

lasna cumachtgu foambiat accai 7 mām 'to the mighty ones under whose bond and yoke they are' 59 d 5.

#### Saltair na Rann:

cía fora taí iarair 'who is it upon whose search thou art (engaged)?' 3096.

#### Togail Troi:

arm na ríghna dí-a rofaided chuinchidh 'the weapons of the queen for whose searching he was sent' Irische Texte II, 1460.

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 507 (d); KZ, XLIV p. 117; the LSN examples are cited by the editor S. Falconer, see Introd. For a similar construction without a governing preposition see BST p. 275 (b), e.g. fear mheallaim mhnaoi 'the man whose wife I deceive'; possibly this is confined to verse. Thurneysen does not seem to mention it.

Fled Bricrend:

ani imm-a-tudchaibair imresain 'that for the striving of which ye came' Irische Texte I 3008.

LL In lind ara tanac cend 'the lake which I came upon' 4668.  
(poetry - not TBC)

AS iss e siut in fer ara tanacsa teighed 'that is the man (lit. 'on whose fleeing I came') fleeing from whom I came' 6030.

Lorg. an tSoidhigh Naomhtha:

an ni forsa mboi iarair 'that upon whose quest he was' 3764.

an ridiri 'ca tae iarraid 'the knight at whose seeking you are' 30.

The same construction with the preposition i n- without the relative particle<sup>1</sup>:

Tochmarc Emire:

in fer ... irro foimar thig 'the man in whose house we slept' par. 31.

mór n-ingen ir-raba féin charde 'there are many maidens in whose friendship you were yourself' Irische Texte III 2482.

Aided Guill:

in láech i-fail int arm láim 'the warrior in whose hand the weapon is' LL 12931 (poetry).

In Tenga Bithnua:

nach duine am-bi láimh 'any man in whose hand it is' ed. Stokes, par. 47.

AS a meic Chalpuirn i tam tigh 'O son of Calpurnius in whose house we are' 153 (poetry).

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<sup>1</sup> For the first three examples see Thurneysen KZ, XLIV p. 117.



- (2) The relative form of the copula followed by a possessive adjective placed before the noun which is brought into predicative construction by means of a special relative clause introduced by the preposition in question plus sa n- or without sa n- in the case of i n-.<sup>1</sup> (See (2) p.166 above.)

VT nach oen uait assa sciath i mbia toraínd mu bachlása 'every one of thy descendants in whose shield shall be the sign of my crozier' 1595.

in psalm ... asa forba hi fil in líne se 'the ... psalm in the end whereof is this line' 1999.

PH is e so in t-árchangel as a guth res-a n-éiríge in cined doenna 'this is the archangel at whose voice the human race will arise' (lit. 'it is his voice at which the human race will arise') XVI 6394.

LSN in ridiri sa lurge fora taí 'the knight on whose pursuit thou art' 1533.

Desid. an ti 'sa fhoghnamh 'na bfhailid 'he in whose service they are' 4060.

- (3) A modern Irish construction similar to (3) p.176 and (5) p.169 occurs in the texts from SBC to PB; this is introduced by agá (nasalising) and the preposition governing the noun to be qualified by the genitive is followed by the possessive adjective before that noun. Examples:

SBC cibe aga mbi fis Dia i n-a oibrightibh 'anyone in whose works there is a knowledge of God' 81.

BC duine ... ga raibe delg in a cois 'a person in whose foot there was a thorn' p. 174, l. 19.

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<sup>1</sup>For some other examples see McKenna, BST p. 276 (7).

TBB an tí 'ga mbíodh an singin 'tau 'na éadan 'one who would have the sign 'tau' in his forehead' ('one in whose forehead the sign 'tau' would be') 716.

PB don té agá mbíonn cloidheamh nó sóid na miosgaise anna chroidhe aige 'for him in whose heart he has the sword or arrow (?) of hatred' 831.

With the modification agá > go in SB and agá > a in EM and GG, this is the current Irish expression of genitival relation in oblique relative sentences. Examples:

SB fear go raibh fuineamh agus ceól 'n-a bhalaibh beatha 'a man in whose limbs there was energy and music' (lit. 'a man that there was energy and music in his limbs') p. 42, l. 28.

an rún ... gur bhainis-se an clipe colamúra as a lapa 'the seal out of whose paw you took the hake-fin' (lit. 'that you took the hake-fin out of his paw') p. 73, l. 32.

EM fá na daoineibh a mbíodh siad ar a dtóir 'about the people upon whose pursuit they were engaged' p. 99, l. 28.

GG bean a rabh fáinni dubha fá n-a súilibh 'a woman under whose eyes there were black circles' p. 38, l. 30.

### Negatives

In the selected texts the negative constructions are all variations\* on (3) above.

- (4) The combination ous na introduces the relative in PH, and TBB contains examples with ar nach and ag nach. These sentences are identical in structure with (3) above save that the negatives do not nasalise.

PH fedb bocht ous na fil biad i n-a tig 'a poor widow in whose house there is no food' XXX 1307.

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\*apart from AS ni raibe bethadach na teighed si richt 'there was no creature in whose shape he would not go' 2403. This curious type would correspond to (1) above if na is a contraction of i ná 'in which not'.

TBB an uile anam ar nach déantar timchill-teasgadh ar a fheóil -  
 (omnis anima cujus caro praeputii circumcisa non fuerit)  
 'every soul whose flesh is not circumcised' (lit. 'on whom  
 circumcision is not effected on his flesh') 3289.  
gach aon ag nach biadh an singin sin 'na éadan 'everyone  
 in whose forehead that sign would not be' 707.

Thus one finds nach, followed by a similar relative clause (5)  
 from BC to GG. Examples:

- BC bethadach nach teigim-si 'na richt 'a creature into whose  
 shape I do not go' p. 78, l. 26.
- SB an mhaighdean ... nár dheaghas 'n-a clúid 'the maiden in  
 whose company I did not go' p. 39, l. 19 (poetry).
- GG eisean nach dteightheadh drod ar a bhéal 'he on whose mouth  
 closing never went' ('he who never stopped singing') p. 44,  
 l. 3.

#### IV. Nasalising "Relative" Sentences

Apart from the optional nasalisation when the direct object-  
 relation is expressed, in the A and B constructions above, certain  
 other types of sentence, mostly not themselves relative in English,  
 are constructed with the same kind of nasalisation, using exactly the  
 A or B construction according to which is appropriate.

These clauses have these characteristics of form<sup>1</sup>:

- (1) ro, no and the pretonic prepositions including the negative  
nād, nā nasalise the following initial except when an infixed  
 pronoun is present, e.g.:

ní nád m-bia 'not that there will not be' Wb 13 d 17.

óre do n-écommacht 'because he has imparted' Wb 1 a 1.

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 504; 413.



- (2) When an infixed pronoun is present n is inserted before the lenited d of Class C., thereby deleniting it, e.g.:

indas as-n-da-fiadam-ni 'as we declare them' Ml 93 d 14.

The nasal after the pronoun is irregular:

cia ó fut fritat-n-farr-su 'how long shall he offend thee'  
Ml 93 a 15.

The double nasalisation is also exceptional, e.g. amal ndond-foirde ainmm 'as a noun signifies it' Sg 26 b 11. Since amal lenites this is more than likely a scribal error.

- (3) The relative forms of simple verbs are nasalised. This is usual in Wb although not always shown, e.g.:

in tain m-bís 'when he is' Wb 17 b 3.

in tain bíis Wb 28 b 28.

Later texts have this nasalisation constantly.

- (4) Absolute forms of the copula nasalise the following stressed syllable instead of being themselves nasalised, e.g.:

céin bas m-béo 'so long as he is alive' Wb 10 b 23.

do thaidsiu as n-iress 'to show that it is faith' Wb 19 b 14.

In later glosses unstressed words are sometimes nasalised, e.g.:

as ndi thalam 'that it is of the earth' Ml 68 c 4.

In nasalising relative sentences, the English conjunction is represented in Irish by a noun or adjective (hence the relative construction in Irish), which acts as a virtual conjunction. A vaguely or indirectly relative relation is expressed - as to which: that.

These types of sentence are mostly not relative sentences in English but various types of subordinate clause, e.g. temporal, etc.;

and in such cases an entirely non-relative construction<sup>1</sup> may also be used in Old Irish as an alternative after conjunctions such as (h)óire, amal, fo bith, etc. Examples:

Wb hóire ni ro imdibed 'because he had not been circumcised'  
23 d 25.

Ml amal is na nassar 'as of the Assyrians' 54 a 22.

fobith is taibe in so 'because this is an epitome' 14 d 4.

So the English 'when they will believe', temporal, not relative, may be expressed in Old Irish with a relative construction: in tain guidmeni inducbáil, 1 pl. rel. pres. indic. '(at) the time (in respect of which) we beseech glory' Wb 4 a 27; 'that is the day when he was born': issed laithe insin ro-ngénair-som 'that is the day (on which) he was born' Sg 21 a 6; and 'as we ask': amal chon-ndegam 'as (compared-with-the-way-in-which) we ask'.

These constructions are found with completive noun clauses, i.e. in all contexts where the most suitable way of expressing the complement of the main clause is by a noun. These clauses are often used without an antecedent as the complement of verbs of saying, thinking, etc., and also as subject clauses after expressions 'it happens, it is necessary, possible,' etc., e.g. confecmi nád nairchissa 'that it may not happen that he spare not' Wb 6 b 35.

Also with temporal clauses, when the time at or during which the content of the relative clause takes place is shown by the antecedent and after the conjunctions which introduce temporal clauses, i.e. the conjunctions that were originally oblique case<sup>s</sup> of nouns and substantial pronouns, in tan céin, a<sup>n</sup>, lasse, etc., e.g. lasse gabas imbi 'when he puts on him' Wb 13 d 22.

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<sup>1</sup> A construction which is not to be confused with this is the use of a non-relative clause in the second of two parallel clauses, both of which should be relative. This is a form common to many other languages, e.g. Amal as tóisegiu grían ... ocus is laithe foilsigedar 'as the sun is prior and it is the day that makes clear' Ml 85 b 11. Ni instead of nád in the second clause is very frequent.

Also with clauses of manner or degree when the manner or degree of the content of the relative clause is defined by the antecedent. Thus these clauses are used with amal and fib, feib = 'as': both these words are oblique cases of samail = 'likeness' and feb = 'quality'. Under this heading comes the construction with a neuter adjective in periphrasis with the copula defining the modality of the following clause:

arndip maith n-airlethar a muntir 'so that he may well order his household' Wb 28 b 32 (OIG 498).

Also with causal clauses (OIG 502). The conjunctions fo bith, dég, and ol are followed by nasalising relative clauses, and hóre too, which was originally temporal as it is the genitive of hór, húar = hour, e.g. hore no-n-dob molor-sa 'because I praise you' Wb 14 c 18; fo bith n-óinegadar 'because he unites' Sg 172 a 4.

Also with comparative clauses. This construction is employed with ol-dáu 'than I am', lit. 'beyond what I am,' etc., after comparatives. In Milan and later ol is replaced by in(d)-. In this type of construction the verb 'to be' loses its meaning, and is used as a particle-form which means 'than', although it still makes a distinction between singular and plural:

mou ... indáte bitis cranna 'more than if they had been trees' Ml 92 d 6 (OIG 779).

Also with the construction in which the antecedent denotes the predicative nominative of the relative clause (OIG 500):

Cid drúailnide m-bes chechtar in da rann 'though each of the two parts be corrupt' Sg 202 b 3.

'Plebs dei' asndan-berthe-ni '"plebs dei" that we used to be called' Ml 114 a 7.

Also with the verb -tá when it means 'to be annoyed with somebody': is hed dáthar dom 'that is why people are vexed with me' Wb 21 c 9,

The above clauses will be dealt with under Subordinate Clauses below.



### The Cognate Accusative

The construction known as *figura etymologica* or the cognate accusative, where the verbal noun of the verb of the relative clause constitutes the antecedent, cannot be replaced by non-relative construction. This syntagm is not found in the texts after AS, and the occurrences after the Glosses offer no positive evidence of the relative construction.

Examples:

- Wb a forcital forndob-canar 'the teaching you are taught' (lit. 'the teaching which one teaches you') 3 b 23.
- ML i n-aimsir in tindnac(i)l sin du-n-écomnacht día Saul 'at the time of that deliverance whereby God delivered that Saul' 55 c 1.
- VT nach congball congaibid 'at every dwelling wherein ye set up' 812.
- LL in tincud tincfat forsna haigib 'the look with which I shall look upon the deer' 8722
- PH in ternam terna Ionas 'the escape whereby Jonas escaped' 3432.
- AS in dechain ro dechusa thorum 'the look with which I looked around me' 6015.

Non-relative construction cannot replace the relative in clauses of manner or degree when the antecedent is a neuter adjective, e.g. is lérithir inso no nguidimm 'it is as earnest as this which I pray' Wb 27 d 19.

### Nasalising Relative Clauses in Middle Irish

Discrepancies in the use of nasalising relative clauses occur in Old Irish; non-relative verbal forms occur after amal, céin, and intan in VT; similarly the usage is fluid in LL, and in AS nasalising relative clauses as such do not occur.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For examples from these three texts see ZCP XVI p. 81; Ériu XIV p. 131 f.; ZCP XXVII p. 302 d., respectively.

N.B. In the emphatic inverted construction with the copula (p. above) the construction is relative in the case of A and B above, i.e. when the relation is one of subject or direct object. But otherwise it is wholly non-relative in Old Irish.

Occasional exceptions are mentioned below in the relevant categories. (See also OIG 506.)

### Antecedents of the Relative Clauses

There are two demonstrative words which are used as antecedents with relative clauses. One is a n- the nom. acc. sg. of the neuter article used in the sense of '(all) that (which)' and the other is the definite article (in all its genders, cases, and numbers) combined with the deictic particle -i in the sense 'he who, that which; those who'.

#### (1) a n-<sup>1</sup>

This demonstrative nasalising a is used without a noun before a leniting relative clause.<sup>1</sup> In Middle Irish through contamination with relative a n- governed by a preposition it takes the conjunct and prototonic forms<sup>2</sup>, e.g. a mbeirend 'Rule of Tallaght' p. 76, par. 46 (ed. Gwynn). When it has a plural meaning, pronouns which refer to it are plural. It may be governed by a preposition; this is especially common in Modern Irish with the preposition de after indefinite pronouns and adjectives, superlatives,<sup>3</sup> etc. Examples:

Wb a n-asberinn 'what I would say' 14 c 23.

Ml a n-adchiam 'what we see' 112 b 13.

VT an fugebed in gilla 'what the lad used to get' 365.

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 473; Contrib. A I p. 3, l. 44 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Bergin, Ériu XI n. 1, p. 139; a n- is also written in/an- in Middle Irish, e.g. ro roindsium ina rabi do shil bic and 'we divided what was there of small seed' PH 497. Ó Searcaigh cites this as the reason for the adopting of the dependent form, FEMN p. 129.

<sup>3</sup>Gnás, par. 466.

- LL atchuala an rachansat 'he heard what they said' 7672.
- PH cech maith d'a ndubairt 'every good that I have said' 7339.
- AS is fir a n-abair in file 'what the poet says is true' 3157.
- SBC gach aen-ni dar scribhadh dim 'everything that was written of me' 4146.
- BC a n-dubratat re C.C. 'what they said to C.C.' p. 58, l. 8.
- TBB gach aon dár fhás 7 dá bhfásfaidh uaidh 'everyone (of all) who descended and who will descend from him' 13.
- PB ar an adhbhar loitear gach a ccurthar ann 'because all that is put into it is destroyed' 1173.
- SB gach deor dá sileach 'every tear (of all) that fell' p.77, l.3.
- EM gach rud dá raibh ar dhá thaobh an bhóthair 'everything (of all) that was on the two sides of the road' p. 54, l. 22.
- GG bhí aobh ar gach duine dá raibh i láthair 'everyone (of all) who was present was smiling' p. 93, l. 10.

2) a intí, aní 'he who, that which'

This demonstrative pronoun may be used as an antecedent to a following relative clause.<sup>1</sup> Examples:

Nominative:

indí frissa n-érbrath 'she to whom it has been said' Sg 220 a 10  
ní latt aní ara-rethi 'everything that you assail does not belong to you' Wb 6 b 22.

Genitive:

cen chomalnad indí no pridenim 'without the fulfilment of that which I preach' Wb 11 a 15.

The subsequent history of this demonstrative has not been traced in the texts.

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 474.



neoch, noch 'who, which',<sup>1</sup>

A late Middle Irish and early modern Irish indeclinable pronoun neoch > noch which developed from the pronoun nech 'anyone, someone' is found in late Middle Irish. In Old Irish nech was frequently followed by a leniting relative clause with the subjunctive, e.g. nech bed chare dó 'anyone that was a friend to him' Ml 29 c 16; similarly, cebe nech doneth écnach Crist 'whoever should blaspheme Christ' PH 478.

The later usage which is not found after PB is seen in the following examples:

AS scribais neoch tucad do Pátraic 'he wrote what was given to Patrick' 7840.

na trí náimde út neoch ata a[c] milled 'those three enemies who are destroying' 6232.

BC do reir ughdaráis Scribtuir noch ader 'according to the authority of scripture which says' p. 58, l. 22.

PB an té noch is lia thuiginn do fhoghlaim 'he who most understands learning' 140.

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<sup>1</sup>Contrib. N-O<sup>B</sup>, p. 17, l. 85 ff.; Gnás, par. 546.

## CHAPTER XIII

## ADVERB CLAUSES

Temporal

The following temporal conjunctions are found in Irish in the texts; the titles are inclusive and the conjunctions are listed in the order of their appearance<sup>1</sup>:

## (1) conjunctions meaning 'when':

<u>a n-</u>	Wb - LL
<u>dia n-</u>	Wb - BC
<u>in tan</u>	Wb - PB
<u>lasse n-</u>	MI - VT
<u>in uair</u>	VT - GG
<u>in tráth</u>	LL - TBB

## (2) conjunctions meaning 'as':

<u>amal</u>	Arm. - AS
<u>mar</u>	LL - TBB

## (3) conjunctions meaning 'while, as long as':

<u>céin, céne</u>	CG - PB
<u>airet</u>	VT - PH
<u>an fhaid</u>	LL - EM
<u>an fed</u>	SBC - PB

## (4) conjunctions meaning 'after':

<u>ó</u>	Wb - BC
<u>iarsindí</u>	Wb - PH
<u>taréis mar</u>	TBB

## (5) conjunction meaning 'since':

<u>ó</u>	Wb - EM
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## (6) conjunction meaning 'before':

<u>resú &gt; sul a, sara</u>	Wb - GG
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<sup>1</sup>Some of these meanings shade into each other; in each case this is the principal sense in which they occur. All references are given below to authorities cited.

(7) conjunction meaning 'until':

<u>co n-</u>	Wb - GG
<u>na co n-</u> > <u>no co n-</u>	LL - SB

The subjunctive occurs with (1) in sentences of hypothetical generalisation which are indefinite in respect of time, e.g. in tan immeromastar nach nóib 'whenever any saint sins' Ml 51 a 18.

The subjunctive is found with (6); here the conjunction imposes the nature of the limitation; this may be anterior, posterior, or logical, e.g. molid et algénigid resiu rocúrsacha 'he praises and soothes before he reprimands' Wb 4 a 2.

Similarly with (7) the pres. subj. may denote hypothesis although the subjunctive of willing is also present as in indnaidid sund co tís-[s]a asind fid 'wait here until I come out of the wood' LU 5414.

The perfective forms with ro with (6), (7), and (4) express the chronological or logical limitation imposed by the conjunctions.

The subjunctive is noted wherever it has been observed (see below, *passim*).

a n-, with ro: arru, anru, neg. anna 'when, while'

This a n- is originally the neuter article and it is used with a nasalising relative clause to indicate contemporaneity. It is one of the most frequent methods of translating Latin participles in the Glosses; it is not found after Middle Irish.<sup>1</sup> Examples:

Wb an no ngeiss 'when you may pray' 30 b 4 (pres. subj.).

Ml ar ru cetaigser frisin n-Ebride (quia nuper cum Ebreo disputans) 'while thou didst dispute with the Hebrew' 2 d 3.

VT a ndorat a anáil foí 'when he put his breath under it' 132.

LL a n-adranic in t-oclách airm i mboí Cu Chulaind 'when the young warrior reached the place C.C. was' 9593.

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 890; Contrib. A. article 6a.



Later a n- is occasionally written i n-, e.g. i n-bása isind ecclais so 'when I was in this church' BnÉ, p. 93, par. 203.

la-se, lasse 'when, while'

This conjunction means literally 'with this that' and it indicates simultaneity; it does not occur in the texts after VT where it is followed by a main clause. Examples:

MI lasse du-sente 'when he was being pursued' 142 b 4.

lase arndam -fuirset (non movebunt improbi retinendo me) 'by restraining me' (lit. 'when they shall detain me')<sup>1</sup>

VT lasse ní béu cid in tene 'when even the fire is not alive' 118.

dia n- > dá n- 'when'

This conjunction is found only with the preterite<sup>2</sup> and it takes the dependent form of the verb with nasalisation. It is found in Old and Middle Irish. It is not in SBC and only one example occurs in BC in the archaic passage; this seems to show that it is obsolete by the fifteenth century. Examples:

MI dia luid david for longais có iadomdu 'when David went into exile to the Edomites' 52.

VT ar bo fortachtaid dó dia mboí i moxaini do Miliuc 'for he was a helper to him when he was in bondage to Miliucc' 254.

LL dia mbai Léeg and co n-acca ní 'when L. was there, he saw something' 9578.

PH dia mbui Crist hi croich 'when Christ was on the Cross' 671.

AS da rabamarne ac Síð Lianna 'when we were at S.L.' 4635.

BC dia mboi C.C. ag dul a n-Albain 'when C.C. was going to Scotland' p. 378, l. 1.

<sup>1</sup>OIG 891.

<sup>2</sup>OIG 889.

in tan, in tain 'when'

In tan means literally '(at) the time that'. It requires a nasalized relative clause in Old Irish, and with the subjunctive it denotes hypothetical generality. It is found in all the texts except the modern dialect material. In Middle and Modern Irish, the relative clause is lenited.<sup>1</sup> Examples:

with subjunctive:

Wb in tain bes n-inun accobor lenn 'when we have the same desire' 4 a 27.

ML in tan immeromastar s6n nach noib 'when any saint sins' 51 a 18.

with indicative:

Wb in tain no mbiu 'when I am' 20 a 3.

ML in tan nad tarat dia fortachtain dam 'when God had not given me help' 90 c 18.

VT in tan midfes for torad a praecepta 'when he shall appraise the result of his preaching' 3087.

LL in tan ... bai n6l ... barsin gr6in 'when there was a cloud over the sun' 12163.

PH in tan ro-m-cuiris do Ierusalem 'when you sent me to Jerusalem' 2612.

AS in tan chuirim uisci ar mo chenn 'when I put water on my head' 7501.

SBC in tan chaithius hi 'when he receives it' 3335.

BC an tan nach bud leo righact Ereinn 'when the kingship of Ireland would not be theirs' p. 22, l. 16.

TBB an tan nach f6adfaidh aon oibriughadh 'when no one will be able to work' (*quando nemo postest operari*) 4908.

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 888;  C III p. 255; Contrib. T-Tn th. p. 67, l. 76 ff.

PB an tan sgarfas an t-anam 'when the soul will depart' 998.

Nach tan 'whenever' is found in later Old Irish, e.g. do biursa fortach-tain doib nach tan ronecat a les 'I give them help whenever they need it' Ml 58 d 5; nach tan conosnad Pátraic 'whenever P. used to rest' 238.

ind/an uair > nuair 'when'<sup>1</sup>

This is similar to in tain, the second element being úar < Lat. hora 'hour'; it is found in Middle Irish with lenition of the verb, and as nuair it is the commonest temporal conjunction in Modern Irish where it is followed by the relative particle a < do (see p. 158 ff.) Examples:

Without the definite article:

VT úair do rúacht Pátraic 'when P. came' 2851.

With the article:

LL and uair thancatar 'when they came' 9967.

PH in uair thréices in duine 'when man deserts' 7723.

AS ind uair thainic lá 'when day came' 7869.

BC an uair nach bia\* dingha Dia orra 'when God's displeasure is not upon them' p. 110, l. 5.

SBC an uair dunus tu sligthe do cedfadh 'when you close the paths of your senses' 6083.

TBB an uair is lugha shaoiltear a theacht 'when its coming is least expected' 130.

PB an uair smuainios an bithiúnach 'when the thief thinks' 708.

SB nuair nárbh' fhéidir leis aon ghealúint d'fháil 'when he was not able to get any promise' p. 19, l. 8.

EM nuair a bhíos i naice an bhaile mhóir 'when I was near the town' p. 9, l. 17.

<sup>1</sup>Contrib. U p. 36, l. 30.

\*It is very likely that bia < bé retains its old force as an indefinite subjunctive here.



GG nuair a fuair siad an scéala 'when they got the news' p.107, l.17.

in > an tráth 'when'

This is a variation of the type in tan, ind uair from tráth 'canonical hour, or day'. It occurs in the texts from LL to TBB; it is followed by lenited relative construction (where the lenition can be observed). Examples:

LL tráth coroscar a anim fria chorp 'when his spirit left his body' 9348 (this is the more common form in this text).

With the article:

LL in tráth scáigfit mo gala 'when my deeds of valour shall have ceased' 11351.

PH in trath sháilles duine 'when a man thinks' 7784.

SBC in trath do bi an croch ar a muin 'when the Cross was on his back' 4906.

TBB an tráth adeirthear riom 'when it is said to me' 5978.

amal 'as'

This is originally an adverbial dative of sam(a)il 'likeness'<sup>1</sup>; it requires nasalised construction in Old Irish but lenition is found with it in Middle Irish. Examples:

Arm. amal immind-ráidset connacatar Fiacc cuccu 'as they were talking about it they saw Fiacc coming towards them' Thes. II 241, 11.

VT amal batar and lucht na Temrach, co n-accatar in tene chascda 'as the folk of Tara were there they saw the Paschal fire' 445.

PH\* See ll. 847; 852.

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<sup>1</sup>OIG 826; 911

\*There are many examples in PH but the text is not to hand.

AS fuair bas do chumaid ... a cétmuintire amal atchonnairc hé  
'she died of grief for her husband as she saw him' 5717.

mar 'as, when, as soon as, after'<sup>1</sup>

Mar is not found in the Glosses or VT. It may be used of past, present, or future time and may derive from móir 'as big as' or from immar 'like as' (see p. 244 below). Mar lenites a following verb. It is found in all the texts from LL to TBB inclusive. Examples:

LL cach fer díb mar dosroched barasfenad ... a chneda dó 'each man of them as he reached him he used to show him his wounds' 11085.

PH mar thic in gémrád 'as winter comes' 7667.

AS mar do tshuidhidur ann ro moidedur déra co tróm 'as they sat there the tears fell heavily' 6533.

SBC mar du bhadur ag sibhal na cathrach, do thinoludar ogha ... chuca 'as they were walking the city the virgins gathered to them' 4562.

BC mar fuair ... C.C. na haiscedha ... do gab se cead ga oide  
'after C.C. had got the favours he took leave of his tutor'  
p. 55, l. 33.

TBB mar fuair Solamh deimhin airsin, cuiris gairm air 'when Solomon had ascertained this he sent for him' 9105.

céin, céine, cène, cen, gen, gin  
i céin, i cén, a gin  
an cein, an gcéin, an cian 'while'

This conjunction comprises the original dative and genitive forms of cian 'a long time'; it is followed by nasalised relative construction in Old Irish. In Classical Irish the relative forms are lenited.

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<sup>1</sup>Contrib. I 1, p. 125, l. 30 ff.

The hypothetical subjunctive is used in céin clauses when the time concept is indefinite or general. The forms of the conjunction are varied; i is common before it in LL, PH, and AS, while an precedes it in the sixteenth century and later material (perhaps by analogy with an feadh, an fad?). Examples:

With subjunctive:

- CG céin mbes maice 'while he is a boy' (lit. 'of boyhood') 79.  
 Wb céin bas mbéo in fer 'as long as the husband be alive' 10 b 23.  
 Ml céne mbether in hac vita 'while one may be alive' 107 d 8.  
 VT céin mbéosa for nim 'while I may be in heaven' 1337.  
 PH i cén rabursa innti 'as long as I may be in it' (XIX) 2716.  
 BC an cein do beith sé fein buidhech dib 'while he himself would hold them in favour' p. 154, l. 32.

With indicative:

- CG céin mb[i]s foraiþ 'while he is over them' 532.  
 Ml ceine nosoifesiu húaím 'while Thou wilt turn from me' 33 a 1.  
 LL i cén ra buisium ac díchennad cháich 'while he was beheading everybody' 10030.  
 PH cein bither oc a denum 'while it is being done' (XXXIV) 7441.  
 AS gen ro bás ic tabairt in catha 'while the battle was being fought' 4750.  
a gin ro bóí bío 'while he was alive' 7216.  
cen bias in ben út aici 'while he will have that woman' 6426.  
 SBC cein do badhus faru 'while I was with them' 3458 (sic gin 3386).  
 BC an cein bias umad 'as long as it will be around you' p. 90, l. 14.



TBB an gcéin mhaireas tlacht taitneamhaoh na ngrás uime 'while the fair garment of grace remains upon him' 1332.

PB an ccéin bhíos an cloídhíomh san ccrécht 'while the sword is in the wound' 2874.

an cian do bheithí i ttrioblóid 'while you would be in trouble' 793.

an fad, an f(h)aid, an fhaid is/agus, faid, in comfhat 'while, as long as'

These conjunctions based on fad 'length' are found in the texts from LL onwards; in comfhat 'the equal length that' occurs in PH and AS; neither seems to be in SBC nor in TBB. Relative verbal forms are found in PH and BC as well as in all the later material. The article is dropped in SB giving faid followed by a relative a; this occurs beside an fhaid agus where faid is now lenited and followed by the conjunction agus which is again in construction with the relative particle. Is occurs in this context instead of agus in EM. Examples:

LL in fat ra bátar fir Herend i sluagaid na Tána 'while the men of Ireland were on the Tain Expedition' 9094.

PH in comfhat bis in madrad i n-a chuilén 'while the dog is a pup' (XXXIV) 7419.

AS in comfhat bias duine am degaid-si ... in comfhat rabursa (subj.) ir-rige 'while anyone will be after me ... while I may be in the kingship' 7894.

BC an fad bias me fen am bethaidh 'while I shall be alive myself' p. 240, l. 24.

PB an fad chuinneóthar mé 'while I shall be retained' 988.

an faid bhíos 'na bheathaig 'while he is alive' 1116.

SB an fhaid a bhed-sa bée 'while I shall be alive' p. 46, l. 41.

an fhaid agus do chuaig aon phingín amháin ann 'as long as one single penny went into it' p. 50, l. 44.

SB faid a bhéach braon sáile 'sa bhfaraige 'as long as there would be a drop of brine in the ocean' p. 73, l. 33.

EM an fhad is bhíos 'san gceanntar 'while I was in the district' p. 26, l. 11.

an fed, an fedh, an feadh 'as long as, while'

This is made up of the article and the word fed < ed 'space'<sup>1</sup>; the prosthetic f is probably on the analogy of fat (above). Lenited relative verbal forms are found with it. It is found in the texts from the fifteenth to the late 17th centuries including Keating. Examples:

SBC an fed do bi se amuich 'while He was away' 4891.

BC an fedh beir at bethaidh 'while you will be alive' p. 210, l. 19.

TBB an feadh bhus cunhain leó iad 'while they will remember them' 1254.

PB an feadh bhíos an cloidheamh sáite annsa chneadh 'while the sword is stuck in the wound' 829.

airet, an airt 'while'

Literally meaning 'the amount that' this is found in VT and PH, e.g. an airt ropsa beo 'while I was alive' VT 1434; airet ba beo 'while he was alive' PH 212.

[n]ó 'since, after, when'<sup>2</sup>

Originally this was the preposition ó and the sense stated by the ó clause was distance from a certain point, event, etc. Ó conveys anteriority with regard to aspect and ro is used to express this retrospective perfectivity in the verbal form; thus with the perfective present and with the perfect, ó means 'after, since', while with non-perfective forms the ó clause means that the action is unaccomplished or still

<sup>1</sup>Contrib. E p. 60, l. 11 ff.; p. 62, l. 25 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Sjoestedt-Jonval, *ÉC* III, p. 244; p. 255.

going on. This distinction is to be drawn from the context in later Irish, and ó seems to be used as 'from the time that, since' from Keating onwards. Ó lenites the verb which follows. Examples:

With perfective forms:

- CG úaire is nua ó rogab tre(a)bad 'for because it is recently since he acquired estate in land' 88.
- Wb ó adcuaid rúin íoce in chenéli doíne 'after he has declared the mystery of the salvation of mankind' 21 d 11.
- MI ho rudeda ind feúil forsnaib cnamaib 'after the flesh has melted on the bones' 22 d 7.
- VT o ro decaí na sruithi 'after he saw the wise men' 378.
- LL\* ó ra impasom 'after he turned' 12307.
- PH o ruccad me 'since I was born' (XIX) 2788.
- SBC o da-rinnedh sin 'since that was done' 5137.
- BC o tainic aimser légin do C.C. 'after the time came for C.C. to learn' p. 44, l. 22.

With non-perfective forms in Old Irish and later usage:

- Wb hó boí mo chenéel 'since my kindred came into being' 29 d 6.
- AS ca fhat ó thesta in flaith Find 'how long it is since F. the prince is absent' 5340.
- TBB atáid ceithre lá ó's marbh é 'it is four days since he (lit. 'is dead') has died' 174.
- PB ó d'fhógair Heliogabulus cómhairle 'since H. proclaimed a council' 341.
- SB ó bhí fear 'n-a chónuí timpal Chorcaí 'since there was a man living around Cork' p. 3, l. 1.

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\*Sometimes written á in this text, e.g. á thanic deired na haidchi 'when the end of night had come' 10239.



EM ó fuair beirt mhinistéar ... bás tóbann ann 'since two ministers died suddenly in it' p. 49, l. 35.

### iarsindí 'after'<sup>1</sup>

This is int-í combined with the preposition iar 'after' to form a conjunction. The perfective verbal forms show the terminative-retrospective aspect; and the non-perfective tenses indicate contemporaneous action in the two clauses, although the temporal clause is definitely anterior in both cases. It does not require relative construction in Old Irish but examples occur. Iarsindí (in this sense) does not seem to be in the LL Táin and it is not in the texts after PH. Examples:

Wb iarsindí batir inrioci 'after they were worthy' 5 c 14.

ML iarsindí ro mbi hi rigi 'after it is straight' 99 d 1.

iarsindí adcuaidson, etc. 'after he has spoken' 65 a 1.

iarsindí bes tuidchisse deichthrib i ndoiri 'after the ten tribes shall have been led into captivity' 72 d 1.

VT iarsindí tra foroethaigestar Pátraic célla 7 congbála hi Laigniu 'after Patrick had established monasteries and settlements in Leinster' 2271.

PH iars-in-ní atbert Gamalel na briathra -sa 'after G. had said these words' 1539.

### tar éis mar 'after'

This seems to occur in TBB only (see tar éis with verbal noun constructions p. 97 (b) above). Examples:

TBB tar éis mar do iarr Maoise air sgaoileadh ... 'after Moses had asked him to release ...' 1931.

tar éis mar do saorfaidhe anam an mhairbh 'after the soul of the dead man would be saved' 3918.

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<sup>1</sup> OIG 894.

resíu, risiú > sul,<sup>1</sup> sul a, sara 'before'

This conjunction derived from the preposition ré and the dative sg. pronoun síu means literally 'before this'. The subjunctive with ro expresses the action as marking the limit of the action of the main clause; here the limit is chronological, anterior with regard to time, e.g. molid 7 álgénigid resíu ro cúrsacha 'he praises and he soothes before he reprimands' Wb 2 a 2. In Middle Irish the indicative is used in the resíu clause when the main verb is past and when it narrates a coincidental limit, i.e. 'he came before I went'. When the resíu clause implies deliberate limitation, i.e. 'he came before I <sup>should</sup> go', the past subjunctive is used. This may be replaced by the conditional as early as AS (see below). The present subjunctive is used in the temporal when the verb of the principal clause is present indicative, future, or imperative. The future replaces the present subjunctive in TBB,\* PB, SB and EM; the subjunctive remains in the Ulster text.

In Old Irish resíu is not followed by a relative clause, but in Milan with the spread of the usage of relative construction, instances are found of both leniting and nasalising relative clauses, e.g. risiú adcheth cruailned 'before he saw the corruption' Ml 38 c 9, and resíu dondichsitis asin doíri 'before they came out of the captivity' Ml 104 c 5, respectively. Relative forms with lenition occur in TBB, and the relative particle a precedes the verb after sul in PB. The form sara < sul a (with ro, sarar) is found beside its prototype in SB. Relative particles likewise occur with sul (with ro, sular) in EM and GG.

Examples:

With subjunctive:

Wb robtar irlithi ar (mog)e dúin resíu tised hiress 'our servants were obedient to us before the faith came' 27 c 8.

Ml See exx. above.

LL benaidsium a chend riasiu sessed dochum talman 'he cut off his head before it reached the ground' 8677.

<sup>1</sup>OIG 895; ÉC III p. 253; Contrib. R p. 49, l. 29 ff.

\*But notable is the hybrid sul thiocfar 'before I come' TBB 6885, the future form of the verb with the subjunctive ending

- PH tabair usce dún resíu marbai 'sínd 'give us water before you kill us' 2333.
- SBC do-chuaidh ... do hYlisdabeth ... sul do fhagbagh in tir, na sul dechadh ar innarbadh 'she went to Elizabeth before she would leave the country or before she might go into exile' 872.
- BC dobera Dia cugainde iad ... sul tí maidin 'God will give them to us before morning comes' p. 98, l. 18.
- GG tar chugamsa sul a dté tú chun an bhaile 'come to me before you go home' p. 54, l. 22 (2).
- With indicative:
- PH atchuapatar a fherta resíu rosiacht 'they had heard of his miracles before he arrived' 534.
- AS adracht Fer-Maisi ... resiu do érig nech don tsluag 'F. arose before anyone of the host arose' 6982.
- SBC is e adubairt an t-aingil do thabairt air sul do gabhadh a mbroinn e 'It is what the angel said to call Him: before He was conceived' 649.
- BC sul do cuir se crích ar an obair sin testa se fein 'before he finished that work he died' p. 148, l. 22,
- TBB a Dhé cabhair mé, sul roichfead gusna planaibh, sul shloigfeas teine an bhrátha mé 'O God help me, before I reach the pains (of Hell), before the fire of doomsday engulfs me' 6883.
- PB ar mhórán cómhthionól eile do bhíos ag ceannarraic lé chéile trí mhí sul do shuighid siad 'on many other councils who are wrangling among themselves for three months before they sit' 486.
- SB sarar scaradar le chéile, do bhí a gealúint túrtha aici dho 'before they parted, she had given him her promise' p. 39, l. 15.
- EM tá bliadhanta fada rompa fós sul a bhéas siad i n-aois pinsiúin 'there are long years before them yet before they will be old enough to be pensioned' p. 34, l. 27.



GG áit a raibh sé ó sholas sul ar chaill siad an ghrian 'where it was dark before they lost the sun' p. 87, l. 7 (2).

sul dá 'before' (nasalising)

This is commoner than sul a in EM. It is used with the past indicative, the conditional, and the imperfect form (used instead of the past subjunctive). Examples:

EM sul dá ndeachas abhaile chuas chun sráideanna Bhaile na gCloch d'fheicéal 'before I went home I went to see the streets of B.' p. 60, l. 18.

bhíodh an gnás úd i mBaile na gCloch sul dá mbeadh sé i bpríomh-chathair na hÉireann 'that custom used to be in B. before it would be in the Irish Capital' p. 70, l. 22.

bhí orm fanacht uair go leith sul dá n-imthigheadh an traen 'I had to wait for an hour and a half before the train went' p. 9, l. 30.

siu 'before'

This form does not occur in the Glosses but it is found sporadically, e.g. cid siu tised Cuirithir 'before C. came' Liadán 7 Cuirithir p. 22, l. 10; siu rotpiantar 'before you will be tortured' PH 709. It does not occur in the later texts.

co n- (neg. cona, conna) 'until'

This conjunction, corresponding to the preposition co 'unto' may be used introducing a temporal clause with the meaning 'until'. The temporal limitation implied by the conjunction accounts for the use of perfective forms, i.e. that an action is already past. When there is contingency or purpose implied the subjunctive is used; the indicative denotes an action which took place at the end of a period indicated in the principal clause. With co n- subjunctive forms are found until

TBB and again in GG in Ulster Irish. The future replaces the present subjunctive in PB and SB, as does the conditional, the past subjunctive except in GG. Co n- is followed by nasalised dependent forms of the verb at all periods. Examples:

With subjunctive:

Wb conríctar huili genti 'till all the Gentiles are saved' 5 c 3.

VT ni reg-sa assin chruachán-sa co mba marb nó co ndartaítear na nuile itgi 'I shall not leave this mount until I be dead or until all the requests be given to me' 1293.

forácaib Sechnall i n-epscopti la firu Hérenn co tised in baaroc 'Secundinus left the bishopric to the men of Ireland until the barque would come' 2817.

LL ni ragsa uadib corbat doithanaig cluchi 'I shall not go from them until they be sated from the game' 8409.

ní gonfaindse Nath Crantail co mbeth arm leiss 'I would not wound N.C. until he had arms' 9268.

PH co nderna a n-apraimsi fritt 'until you do what I say to you' 2187.

BC ní caithfe sí biadh no deoch go faice sí mesi fen 'she will take neither food nor drink until she see me, myself' p. 270, l. 6.

TBB ní thurnfa go dtuga an tí is ro-airde dá aire í 'it will not descend until the Most High advert to it' 7208.

GG b'fhada go bhfaighthí an fhaill 'it would be a long time until the opportunity would be got' p. 90, l. 12 (2).

is gairid go raibh mé ag scairtigh isteach oraibh 'it is a short time until I (shall) be calling you in' p. 54, l. 24 (2).

With indicative:

Wb nipo irgnae con tánicc lex 'it was not evident until the law came' 3 a l.

- VT ro boí Fortchern i[c] coitsecht frisin forcetul, co túlaíd a máthair 'P. was listening to the teaching until his mother came' 705.
- LL baí and co tanic deired dond ló 'he was there until the end of day came' 8587.
- AS fata co tangabair da hiarraid '(it is) long until you came to look for it' 6156.
- SBC is gearr co n-inntoch-sa chugud aris 'it is a short time until I shall turn to you again' 1254.
- BC nir fada in a diaidh sin go ndeachaid C.C. 'it was not long after that until C.C. went' p. 46, l. 7.
- TBB san aois féin lé ngadtar ... sláinte ... an chuirp ... go gcuireann an bás fa ghreim ... é 'in age itself by which the health of the body is robbed until death grasps it' 2406.
- PB ní osglann a shúile go mbíonn ag fágháil bháis 'it does not open its eyes until it is dying' 1113.
- SB Fan ansan anis ... go n-íosfaig na príocháin tu 'stay there now until the crows (will) eat you' p. 18, l. 30.
- EM mar b'fhada leo go bhfeicfidís a golann imthighthe 'they deemed it a long time until they would see their children gone' p. 75, l. 13.
- GG b'fhada leis go mbeadh an t-amhrán aige 'he thought it long until he would have the song' p. 55, l. 24 (2).

naco, nó co, nó go 'until'

This conjunction containing na > no and the preposition co n- above is found first in LL as naco (subsequently nó co > go), and has exactly the same usage as co n- (above).<sup>1</sup> Examples:

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<sup>1</sup>Pedersen, V GK II 318 f., considers this a subsequent development of na con- 'unless', but nó is found early. See Contrib. N-O-P p. 54, l. 60 ff.



With subjunctive:

- LL 7 conid geiss d'fheraib Herend techt do lár ind athasa naco tuca nech díb hí anís 'and it is taboo for the men of Ireland to go to the middle of this ford until one of them take it up' 8196.
- PH no-co festar hí 'till it be known'
- AS na himridh in fi[d]chell ... nócondechur-sa 'do not play the chess until I go' 7798.
- SBC nach caithfidh se biadh coidhchi no co faicidh se Crist' 5047.
- BC nach beith Día reidh ris ... no co ndeachadh sé ... tar muir 'that God would not be at one with him until he went overseas' p. 180, l. 37.
- TBB biaidh mé san phéin so nó go bhfógra tusa an abdhain uait 7 go dtí abb oile it ionadh 'I shall be in this torment until you resign the abbacy and until another abbot come in your place' 5044.
- PB ní fhaicfe sé ... aonspíce de fhlathas Dé nó go ndéine sé lórgníomh ann 'he shall see no glimmer of Heaven until he make restitution for it' 1900.
- With Indicative
- LL na fuaratar a dígail forro naco n-érracht in gein sin chucu 'and that they did not get to avenge it until that scion arose to them' 8757.
- PH no co ranacais-(s)iu chucaind 'until you came to us' 3918.
- AS nóco tangaissi co feis na Temrach 'until you came to the Feis of Tara' 6157.
- SBC nir caith in biadh, no ga tainec in cethrinn 'He did not eat the food until the band came' 5047.

BC dob ecen dó ... moran ... d'fagbail ... no có Tainec C.C.  
 'he had to leave a lot until C.C. came' p. 16, l. 24.

TBB go raibhe amhlaidh sin ... nó gur thuig sé 'that he was like  
 that until he understood' 4190.

PB bíonn sé a'séide na mbolg nó go mbíonn an t-iarann teith 'he  
 is blowing the bellows until the iron is hot' 1229.

SB níor dhein sí aon stad nú gur bhuin sí cúirt an rí amach 'she  
 made no stop until she reached the king's court' p. 13, l. 8.

go dtí go 'until' (lit. 'until it come that') is also used in current  
 Irish introducing temporal clauses similar to those with go n- and  
nó go n-, e.g. go dtí go raibh an píopa chomhair a bheith ina luaith  
aige 'until he had the pipe nearly (smoked to) ashes' p. 75, l.24 (2).

## CHAPTER XIV

## ADVERB CLAUSES

## Final Clauses

Final clauses in Irish are introduced by the following conjunctions which are listed in the order of their appearance in the selected texts; the last text in which they occur is also cited:

<u>ara n-</u>	CG - AS
<u>co n-</u>	CG - GG
<u>na</u> (neg.)	VT - PH
<u>ar co n-</u>	LL - PH
<u>ar/fo/dáig co n-</u>	LL - PH
<u>indus co</u> > <u>ionnas go</u>	PH - PB
<u>ar eglá go</u> (lest)	SBC - GG
<u>ar chor go</u>	BC - TBB
<u>do chum go</u> > <u>chun go</u>	BC - SB
<u>sa tslí go</u>	SB
<u>a dtréo go</u>	SB
<u>ar chaoi go</u>	EM
<u>a d'fhonn is go</u>	SB
<u>i riocht is go</u>	EM

It is to be noted that apart from ara n- all the other conjunctions have co n- > go as the second element of the compound.

Final clauses always require the subjunctive of willing and wishing in Old Irish; thus the pres. subj. with ro is almost the equivalent of the past subjunctive in a final clause (see co n- below). The conditional replaces this in modern Irish almost completely. No subjunctive exx. occur in the dialect texts.

#### ara n- 'in order that'

This is the commonest final conjunction in Old Irish; it derives from ar 'for' plus the relative particle a n-, and the negative forms are arna, arnacon, etc. It takes the dependent form of the verb and



nasalises. It is always found with the subjunctive (of willing and wishing). It does not occur after AS in the texts. Examples:

CG ara fesser gráda Féne fri mes [n]-airechta[e] adrimter  
'that you may know the ranks of the freemen they are reckoned  
by the estimate of assemblies' 21.

ní bí occa fer sóeras a roí arnách roimre nó arnách ruba(i)  
ar shoethaib ar chondalbai 'there is not with him a man he  
saves on the field of battle lest he betray or slay him  
through feelings of grievance or patriotism' 580.

Wb is béss donaib dagforcitlaidib molad ingni inna n-étside ara  
carat an rochluinetar 'it is a custom for good teachers to  
praise the intelligence of their listeners so that they may  
love what they hear' 11 b 6.

asbertar a n-anman arna-gaba nech desimrecht dib 'their names  
are mentioned so that no one take example from them' 28 a 20.  
arnách róllea derchoiniud dilgid dó et dandonid 'lest despair  
engulf him, forgive him and console him' 14 d 21.

M1 arandentar a nindarbae maní eroimet a forcital 7 arna rogab-  
thar midesmrecht dib 'that their expulsion may be wrought if  
they receive not his teaching, and that a bad example may not  
be taken from them' 30 d 13.

nadnecmai andumenmarni .i. arnatomnammarni 'that it may not  
happen when we think; i.e. that we may not think' 15 d 6.

LL is airesein iarum ... ara n-airichlea 7 ara n-airelma 'it  
is for this then, that you may take care and that you may  
make ready' 10172.

is aire fogníd Medb sin arna ristais fotbaige a cruib greg  
... arna tisad diamrugud don mind óir na rígha 'it is for this  
that Maeve did that, in order that the turves would not reach  
the horses' hooves and that the queen's gold diadem would not  
be marred' 8145.

PH arna ruccad oen do na Cristaigib ní ... dia thaisib 7 na ro-airmitnigitis iat 'that none of the Christians might take any of his relics, and that they might not honour them' 1219.

AS frithoilid co maith hé arna dechad uaib issin síd 'attend to him well that he may (lit. 'might') not go from you into the fairy mound' 5232.

is áil lem dó beith-si i Temraig ... arna ría ail ... missi 'I desire that you should be in Tara in order that no reproach may touch me' 7960.

co n- 'in order that'

This conjunction is followed by the dependent form of the verb; it is the same as the preposition co n- 'until'; it expresses hypothetical consequence but this is tantamount to finality when the action is considered terminatively (see Ch. VI, Aspect) and ro with the subjunctive is required.<sup>1</sup> The past subjunctive is interchangeable with the optative present ro-subjunctive in sentences where the main verb is in the present tense.<sup>2</sup> The conditional may replace the past subj.; it is found doing so as early as LL (see below 9246). The subjunctive is retained after go n- in Munster Irish; an example occurs in PB. The negative form is conná(ch). Co n- does not seem to occur in this context in either PB or EM. Examples:

CG dligid conid roib cath nó chairdde 'he is entitled (to it) so that he may have either battle or treaty' 512.

Wb cid intain ronmoitsem ní bo ar seirc móidme act conrobad torbe dúibsi triit .i. et conrochretesi et conro intsamlithe mo básusa et conná ruchretesi do nech dogned na gnimusin 'that even when we have boasted it was not for the love of boasting, but that ye might have profit thereby, that is, that ye might believe and imitate my conduct, and that ye might not believe in any one save one who did those deeds' 17 a 13.

<sup>1</sup>OIG 896, 2; ÉC III 255 ff.

<sup>2</sup>OIG 520, this accounts for O'Rahilly's observation that the past subjunctive in final clauses in Early Modern Irish frequently corresponds to the present subjunctive in other languages, Desid. p. 258 f.

- Wb is hé nodonnerta-ni co fedligmer isin frescsin foirbthi 'it is He Who strengthens us that we may abide in perfect hope' 6 d 11.
- Ml ... dotét iarum imthanu aidche tarahaesi condermanammarni imnedsin i mbiam isind laithiu tri chumsanad inna aidche dodiarumorat 'then comes the alternation of night after it, that we may forget those troubles in which we are in the day through the repose of the night that follows it' 21 c 3.
- tocad .i. conabad dliged remdeícsen oco tuisten didi 'fate, i.e. that it should not be a law of providence at their creation' 19 d 5.
- VT ro cendaig on triur aili co fognad dó a cenur 'he bought him from the other three that he might serve him alone' 206.
- dochoid Pátraic iarom on Saball fadais coro pritchad do Rus mac Trichim 'then P. went south that he might preach to R. mac T.' 416.
- tabair dún in saccarbaicc co coímsam in tairgerthairig d'égad 'give us the sacrament that we may be able to see the Spouse' 1149.
- déna guidi do Choimded curu thódiúsci a báss 'pray your Lord that you may resuscitate him from death' 2622.
- LL congarar in mac bec dún co ndig lind 'let the little boy be called to us that he may come with us' 8405.
- oslaiother dún dond archoin coro imdegla in trichait cét 'let the dún be opened for the bloodhound that he may protect the cantred' 8423.
- luid Cu Chulaind na ndíad conna ragtaís úad 'C.C. went after them, that they would not go from him' 9246.



PH dena, co ro-fhrémaiget is-in talmain 7 co mbet fo thorud  
'act, that they may root in the ground and that they may bear  
fruit' 1254.

airissid sund co fóill, co ndechsaind forleith, co ndernaind  
ernaigthi 'stay here for the present that I might go apart,  
that I might pray' 3023.

AS tic-sim ... do thinol lossa íce co táirtthed fa lindbraen na  
maitne iat 'he comes to collect healing herbs that he might  
pick them under the morning dew' 5218.

is and doralá d'artúir ... brith ic coimet in mara ... cu nach  
snáimhdís ... uatha 'it happened that A. was watching the sea  
that they might not swim from them' 176.

SBC leanaidh misi co ndernuinn iasgairigha ar na dainibh díbh  
'follow me that I would make you fishers of men' 1487.  
léigidh dóibh-se imeacht go ccoimhlíontar an scríoptúir díbh  
'let them go that the scripture may be fulfilled of them' 3558.

BC is saeth lind ... nach faicimid Elí 7 Enóg con n-aicillmís iad  
'it is distressful to us that we do not see Eli and Enoch that  
we might talk with them' p. 396, l. 15.  
tri xx fer 7 tri xx ben ... do chor tar muir go nach tiodis a  
n-Erind go bráth aris 'to put sixty men and sixty women over  
the sea that they might never come to Ireland again' p.384, l.4.

TBB congabhaidh é féin ó gach éin-ní, go nglacfadh coróin shoth-  
ruaillithe (ab omnibus se abstinet, ut corruptibilem coronam  
accipiat) 'he keeps himself from everything, so that he would  
get a corruptible crown' 10610.  
is éigean an duine riaghailta d'fholach san chlaustra, go nach  
ndearnadh an saoghal buaidhreadh air 'the religious must hide  
himself in the cloister in order that the world may not trouble  
him' 8702.

TBB teith, go nach lingfeadh an fheartain ort (fuge ne occupet te pluvia) 'flee, that the rain would not fall on you' 8773.

SB d'eighrig Móirín 'n-a seasamh er bhár na faile go bhficfeach sí cad a bhí ann 'M. stood up on the top of the cliff so that she would see what it was' p. 15, l. 30.

isé fá mo th'ruis, go bhfaighin t'iníon mar bhean chéile 'the reason for my journey is that I would get your daughter as a wife' p. 23, l. 26.

téanuig a chlann ó anis ... go ragham go dí an t-Aifirean 'come now children, so that we will go to Mass' p. 72, l. 35.

GG beir chugam unga den ór ... go bhfaighe an file luach a shaothair 'bring me a nugget of gold that the poet may get his reward' p. 101, l. 7.

na 'in order that ... not'

The negative na is found introducing final clauses in the texts from VT to PH; it is of comparatively rare occurrence. The subjunctive present and past is found with it. Examples:

VT cavete nachaib tair in leú 'beware, that the lion may not come to you' 1755.

LL is aire dogníd Cu Chulaind ... cach cless ... na digitís ar dermat ... uad 'it is for this reason that C.C. performed every feat that they might not be forgotten by him' (lit. 'that they might not go on forgetfulness from him') 9375.

PH na ro-epled sib uli i n-oenfhecht 'that you might not all die at once' 2832.

ar co 'in order that'

This Middle Irish form is not found after PH. Examples:

LL urthatar techta ó Meidb cosna Manib arco tístais co Cruachain  
'messengers set out from Maeve to the Manes in order that they  
might not come to Cruachan' 7695.

tair round arco mbennachat in macrad damsa 'come before us  
that the boys may greet me' 8535

PH ar co tísed do shaerad a ingine 'that he may come to save  
his daughter' 1991. *might*

dáig co n- 'in order that'<sup>1</sup>

This preposition based on the nominal preposition dáig 'because of'  
occurs in PH and LL.

LL dáig na hapraitis fir Herend 'in order that the men of Ireland  
might not say' 10278.

PH dáig co ndernatís ídpurta 'in order that they might make sacri-  
fices to them' 2492.

daig na ro-erchótigi do duine 'in order that you may not harm  
any one' 2504.

fo dáig co n- 'in order that'

The preposition fo precedes the dáig co n- above; this occurs  
only in PH. Examples:

PH fo-daig co tucam aichne fair 'in order that we may give him  
recognition' 1965.

fo-dáig na digthea hi croich 'that you may not be hanged' 2419.

ar dáig co n- 'in order that'

Similarly ar replaces fo (above) with dáig co n-. This is also  
only in PH. Examples:

PH ar-daig co ndena in popul ... edpurta doib 'that the people  
may offer sacrifice to them' 2423.

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<sup>1</sup>For further examples of dáig co n-, fo dáig co n- and ar dáig co n-,  
see Contrib. D-degóir p. 19, l. 23 ff.



PH ar daig na denat na h-aingil 'that the angels may not do' 1978.

indus co, ionnas go 'in order that'

This conjunction (< indas 'manner', originally vn. of in fét 'relates') is found in PH and in all the texts until PB. It is very common in SBC and the most frequently used final conjunction in BC and TBB. It is mostly followed by the past subjunctive and the conditional which succeeds it in this usage.

PH is uime thancomar indus co fhagbad-sum bás 'it is for this that we came, so that he would die' 2753 (19).

SBC slanaigh ... an duine ... innus co racha se a tarba duine ocus daibh-se ocus co mola se sibh 'save the man that it may benefit us and you and that he may praise you' 161.

do inntódur cum a mbochtaine fein aris, indus co mbetaigdis iad fein ar saethur a lamh 'they turned to their own poverty again that they might keep themselves by the work of their hands' 461.

BC do duiretar ceo na timcell and indus nach bhfaicedh énduine 'they put a fog about them that nobody might see' p. 130, l. 6.

do chuir me uisce na h-abonn a tanacht ... indas go fédfadg lucht a oibri dul tairsi 'that I made the water of the river shallower that the workers could cross it' p. 16, l. 7.

do íarratar a muindter ar C.C. an sruth do beith a comhdomain sin indus nach rachad 7 nach tiucfaidís daine co brath air\* 'his people asked C.C. that the river should be so deep, in order that people could not go or come on it, ever' p. 131, l. 11.

TBB guidh ar na marbhaibh, ionnus an<sup>1</sup> tan bhiaid san bheathaidh mharthanaigh nach tugdaois faill ar ghuidhe ar do shon (ut ... negligent) 'pray for the dead, so that when they are in the eternal life they might not neglect to pray for you' 4981.

\*Note two co-ordinate verbs, one sg. and the other pl. with pl. subject.

<sup>1</sup>Note that another subordinate clause split the conjunction.

TBB guidhídh ionnas nach biadh bhar dteitheadh san gheimhreadh (ut ... non fiat) 'pray in order that your flight would not be in the winter' 4113.

PB déinmaoid branar-samhara ar na súbháileibh ... ionnas go mbiaídh fógmhar fairsing againn 'let us cultivate the virtues in summer so that we may have an ample harvest' 1353.

cuir srian láidir ar mo theangain ionnas nách tiocfadh aon chómhraídh borb as mo bhéal 'put a strong rein on my tongue so that no churlish talk may come out of my mouth' 982.

#### ar chor go 'so that'

This is found in BC and TBB with the past subjunctive and conditional.

#### Examples:

BC mar nach fuair se inadh don duirrtach ... ar cor go mbeith edon na haltora de san aird soir le dlus na coilleadh 'as he could not find a place for the oratory for the thickness of the wood in order that the front of the altar would face East' p. 82, l. 27.

ruic lon bidh 7 díbhe a hAlbain leis an cor nach caithead se biadh no deoch na hÉirend 'he brought food and drink from Scotland with him so that he would not consume Irish food or drink' p. 344, l. 3.

TBB agus ar chor gomadh móide do fhéadfadh é féin d'indhídean ... air ... measaim gurab tarbhach don duine na comharthadha ... do chor síos ann so 'and in order that he would the better protect himself from it, I think it would be beneficial to man, to put the signs down here' 1546.

dochum co > chum go > chuinn go 'in order that'<sup>1</sup>

Dochum is originally the proclitic form of tochim, verbal noun of do-cing 'advances'; it first appears as a conjunction in BC. It is used with the past subjunctive and conditional; the future is also found with

<sup>1</sup>See Contrib. degra-dodelbtha p. 229, l. 61 ff. for other examples.

it in PB. Examples:

BC adubhairt gurb é dob adhbhar dó dhul andsin docum co ndernadh se fén manuch dhe 'he said that what had caused him to go there was in order that he might make a monk of him, himself' p. 172, l. 31.

adubhairt ris an cloc do bmain docum co tiucfaidís na manaigh cuca 'he told him to strike the bell in order that the monks should come to them' p. 248, l. 10.

PB\* clúdaig me lé héadach posda do mhic ... do chum go ngrádhfuinn tú, 7 nách sgarfadh bás 'clothe me with the wedding garment of your Son that I would love you and that death would not part me from your love' 966.

réad ghrádh an té stopas a chluas do chum nách cluinfeadh sé gártha na mbocht 'he who stops his ear so that he would not hear the cries of the poor' 836.

chum ná biaidh mise ní sa shia dobhúr ceongháil lé bréithribh, fēacham 'in order that I shall not detain you any longer with words let us see' 417.

SB do tháinig an cléireach chun go lasfach se na cuínle 'the sexton came in order that he would light the candles' p.64, l.8.

sa tslí go 'so that'

This means 'in the way that'; it occurs in SB only.

SB do thosanaig sé ar í tharac isteach go dí an bhfala ansa' tslí go bhféadfach sé í cheangal 'he started to pull it in towards the wall so that he could tie it up' p. 36, l. 27.

a'd'fhonn is go 'in order that'

Literally 'for a desire that' (for d'fhonn with verbal noun, see above 2 (f) p. 91), this is also found only in SB, e.g.:

SB a d'fhonn is go bhfanfach an brúscar 'n-a diaig 'she started to be sieving the meal so that the grit would remain' p.33, l.17.

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\*dochum gumadh usaide dóibh 'that it might be easier for them'; cited as past subj. of the copula by the editor, p. 173, in which case it would seem the only example of dochum go with the past. subj. in this text.



a dtréo go 'so that'

Literally 'in the direction that', this is found in SB, e.g.:

SB d'fháisceas go math i a dtréo nuair a tharaiceóin an snáithín go raghach na laistí 'n-a gceart 'I squeezed it well so that when I would pull the thread the bolts would go into place' p. 57, l. 39.

i riocht is go 'so that'

This conjunction formed with riocht 'shape' is found in EM, e.g.:

EM eolas maith a chur ar litridheacht na teangar is riocht is go mbeadh sí ábalta ar a cuid smaointe a nochtú 'to get a good knowledge of the literature of the language so that she would be able to express her thoughts' p. 29, l. 34.

ar chaoi go 'so that'

Formed with caci 'way, means' this conjunction occurs with the conditional in EM, e.g.;

EM thosúigheas ag grinneadh na ndaoine ar chaoi go gcuirfinn iad o bheith do mo ghrinneadh 'I started to stare at the people in order that I might make them stop staring at me' p. 82, l. 22.

d'ecla goar ecla go 'lest, for fear that'

This expression appears in SBC as ar e(a)gla go; it is in all the texts subsequent to this; d'ecla go is found also in BC, TBB and PB; le heagla go occurs in SB. It is always found with the conditional.<sup>1</sup>

## Examples:

SBC na pecaigh ní is mo, ar eagla co tigemadh duit ní is measa 'do not sin any more lest something worse should befall you' 2426.

BC gab timcheall na n-oilen mbec eli ... d'ecla go faicféa ní do chuirfedh aduathmhuirecht ort 'go around the other little islands lest you would see something which would horrify you' p.234,l.24.

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<sup>1</sup> but the past subj. is found in TBB 2324.

TBB is eadh dhleaghair dhuit, a gcur as do sheilbh, ar eagla go dtiocfadh feadhmannach ... Dé 'what you ought to do is to dispossess yourself of them lest God's steward should come' 7039.

PB go rabhadar faitehiosach fá acineasbog d'fhulang ... d'eagla go ceumfuidhe plot ... orra 'that they were afraid to suffer any bishop lest a conspiracy would be invented against them' 116.

SB do bhí an fear bocht bailithe leis ó'n geruai' er eagala go gcifuí e 'the poor man had betaken himself away from the stack lest he should be seen' p. 26, l. 44.

GG ar eagla go mbeadh faill aige féin aithreachas a dhéanamh ... bhuail sé an gallóglach 'lest he should have an opportunity to repent himself, he struck the gallowflass' p. 120, l. 24 (2).

## CHAPTER XV

## ADVERB CLAUSES

## Consecutive Clauses

The following conjunctions introduce consecutive clauses:

<u>co n-</u>	CG - SB
<u>indas co n-</u>	PH - SB
<u>i riocht go</u>	BC - EM
<u>ar chor go</u>	PB
<u>a coás go</u>	PB
<u>ar mhodh go</u>	PB
<u>a dtréo go</u>	SB
<u>sa t-slí go</u>	SB

They comprise co n- and its compounds and they are always followed by the indicative. Co n- and indas co n- are the most frequent and have the longest history. Since these constructions are similar to those previously illustrated in Final Clauses, only examples with co n- have been given below.

co n- 'so that'

CG folestrai ... con[n]á heisedar 'small vessels so that he does not have to ask for them' 175.

Wb is bás tra dosom a tabairt fo chumachte a fer ... combi iarum coscitir ind fir 'this then is a custom of his to bring them under the power of their husbands, so that it is afterwards the husbands are corrected' 22 c 10.

M1 ad omnem infelicitatis commemorationem ut nostrum occurat exemplum .i. condan samailter fri cech ndodcadchai 'so that we are compared to every infelicity' 63 d 7.

V<sup>T</sup> ro sén in n-uisce coro sóad i mmil 'he blessed the water so that it was turned into honey' 171.

LL glomais fair co clos fosnaib tuathaib uili gloimm inn archon 'he barked at him so that the bloodhound's bark was heard throughout all the territories' 8435.



- AS do rinde a snaide ... connach raibe a nEirinn ... crann budh  
fherr denam anás 'it was planed so that there was not a better  
 made shaft in Ireland than it' 4899.
- SBC do bhi an medi sin d'ecruas air, co nar fhed se in chroch  
d'imchur 'there was such weakness upon Him, that he was not  
 able to carry the Cross' 3967.
- BC do ling sreb uisce as a lorc go bhfuil 'na thobar fhiruisce  
'san inadh-sin anuigh 'and a stream of water surged up from its  
 mark, so that it is a spring water well in that place today'  
 p. 134, l. 21.
- TBB do bhriseadh na hionháighe go ndearnaidh luaithreadh dhi 'to  
 break the image so that it became dust' 78.
- PB na briathra so ... do léigheadh go mbainfidh tú sochar ...  
asda 'to read these words, so that you will derive benefit  
 from them' 233.
- SB do fuair sí sos beog éigint gor thuit a cola uirthi 'she got  
 some little respite so that she fell asleep' p. 66, l. 44.

## CHAPTER XVI

## ADVERB CLAUSES

## Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses may be merely suppositions in which case the protasis is indicative; when there is nothing implied as to the fulfilment of a particular action. In such sentences the apodosis can be anything.

The apodosis need not always be a statement; it can also be a command or a wish. The present subjunctive is used in the protasis when the action refers to future or indefinite in generalizing clauses. The past subjunctive occurs in the protasis when the condition is unfulfilled or very doubtful, one of its functions being to denote unreality.<sup>1</sup>

Retrospective and prospective aspect are expressed by ro-forms of the verb, e.g. ma eterróscra 'if she should separate' Wb 9 d 31, and mani rochoscasom 'unless he can control' Wb 28 b 28, respectively.

In so far as the conditional maintains its correct temporal perspective (see p. 59 above), in the apodosis, it opposes the past subjunctive of the protasis as a hypothetical future to an intemporal hypothesis; thus a conditional apodosis in contrast to a past subjunctive protasis expresses a future fact with regard to the condition which would have determined it.

The conjunctions which generally introduce conditional clauses are (1) dia n- 'if', (2) má 'if' and (3) the negative form mani 'if not, unless'. (1) dia n- with the indicative (see p. 192 above) indicates a coincidence of the performance of two actions without any necessary relation between them. Dia n- in the conditional clause is a projection into the hypothetical of a coincidence in time.

This conjunction became dá in the later language; instead of the past subjunctive, the conditional occurs with dá in the protasis in PB. In SB one example of the past subjunctive with dá occurs; in EM the usage is mixed and in GG the past subjunctive is general in this context.

O'Rahilly points out<sup>2</sup> that in Desiderius, má with the present

<sup>1</sup>OIG 517; 902; ÉC III, p. 122 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Desid. p. 258.

indicative tends to replace dá with the pres. subj.; he says that in the substantive verb "the present habitual is the one that acquires subjunctive force after má." This is seen in PB where má bhíonn, 1304 of the A text, is dá raibh, 3391 in the archaicised B text.<sup>1</sup>

(2) má is always used with a supposition; it takes the deuterotonic verbal form and lenites; h occurs after má occasionally before a vowel. When má is used with the indicative it affixes a particle d (see p. above).<sup>2</sup> When the condition is past or present, má is followed by the indicative; since it expresses a condition supposedly fulfilled, it often means 'from the moment that'.

(3) mani 'unless' is the only negative conditional conjunction in Old Irish.<sup>3</sup> It also infixes d with the indicative. It becomes muna, mura, mara in the later language. The present subjunctive after it is replaced by the future in PB and SB.

Pres. Indic. Protasis

Pres. Indic. Apod.

Wb (2) hore is immarmus hí Crist a n-as olcc lasin braithir .i. ma im folngi díltud dun brá thir 'for it is a sin in Christ that which is evil to the brother, i.e. if it causes scandal to the brother' 10 c 13.

(3) manid tesarbi ní di maith assa gní maib in tain ro mboí etir tuaith is uisse a airitiu i n-aeclais 'if nought of good was wanting in her actions while she was among the laity, it is right that she be received into the church' 28 d 31.

M1 (3) putasne est providentia si non est vindex? .i. manid - tabair digail tar ar cen[n]-ní 'if he does not inflict vengeance on our behalf' 91 a 17.

<sup>1</sup>Ó Cuív, PB p. 169.

<sup>2</sup>OIG 902; Contrib. M p. 1, l. 68 ff.

<sup>3</sup>OIG ibid.



- V<sup>T</sup> (2) masu ar oítid tra ... is gabthai ferann is mé as ó am  
'if it is for youth then that land is to be taken, I am  
the youngest' 1483.
- LL (2) is tarpech in mod do Ultaib mas iat benas in fid 'it is a  
bold way for the Ulstermen if it is they who cut the wood'  
8769.
- PH (2) cindus tócbas in genntligeacht a cend ... ma sa ferr in  
Cristaigeacht 'How does paganism raise its head if Chris-  
tianity is better' 717.
- SBC (2) ma ta in coir agum cred fa mbuaile me? 'If I am right why  
do you strike me' 3699.
- (3) ni tarbaighenn siad duit muna fuil gradh na subailchi agut  
'they do not benefit you unless you love virtue' 6034.
- BC (2) as urasa le Día mesi do saeradh oraib ... masa toil les  
fen 'it is easy for God to save me from you if it be His  
Will' 72, 3.
- TBB (2) dlighidh a ghabháil chuige ... mása galar ... é 'he ought  
to accept it, if it is a disease' 8201
- PB (2) má bheirmíd easmuilte dórbh ní féidir linn gan bheith  
mímhacánta 'if we abuse them we cannot but be dishonest' 460.
- SB (2) is údair cliste mise má táim dall féin 'I am a clever author  
even if I am blind' p. 39, l. 35.
- (3) mara dtaithníon ái gcuideachta leat tá'n doras osgailte agut  
'if you do not like our company the door is open for you'  
p. 53, l. 23.
- EM (2) má tá gach duine san nbaile seo chomh neamheólasach sin,  
atá go leor ar iarraidh uatha 'if everyone in this town is  
that ignorant there is much missing from them' p. 19, l. 10.
- GG (2) larraim ort a Choinn an doras a thaispeáint dó, más áin  
leat grásta Dé 'I ask you, Con, to show him the door if you  
hold dear God's grace' p. 102, l. 15 (2).

- CG (3) mura dtaitneann sé leat chan de dhíobháil mo dhea-mhéine é  
 'if you do not like it, it is not for the want of my good  
 will' p. 101, l. 18 (2).

Only this series has been given with Indicative Protases; all the subjunctive types observed are included below.

Pres. Subj. Prot.

Pres. Indic. Apod.

- CG (1) is é dano fuillem a sét dianda sera i cumtach 'it is the  
 interest of the chattels then, if he place them in a receptacle' 294.
- (2) dia rogba (i) ind fhlaith bachaill ní dlig dénum a dúne  
 'if the ruler have taken the tonsure he ought not build  
 his fortress' 573.
- (2) os ma do rat(d)a forcraid ngill is lóg a enech a gell  
slán cona fuillem do aisiuc 'and if he give excess of  
 pledge, it is the value of his honour to repay the clear  
 pledge with its interest' 287.
- (3) is óglóg [n]-aineach cech graid di shunn mani aurchriat a  
folaid 'every rank of this is a complete honour-price  
 unless his possessions perish' 302.
- mani dernat co cenn mís do tiágat for cairrde 'if they do  
 not act for a month, they come to an interterritorial  
 settlement' 361 (Perfective).
- Wb (1) ní lour in bendachad dia mmaldachae 'the blessing is not  
 enough if thou curse' 5 d 23.
- (2) ma eterrósra fria fer ní téit co fer n-aile, act bed i  
ngenas 'if she separate from her husband she does not go  
 to another man, but let her remain in chastity' 9 d 31.
- (3) mani rochosca som a muntir intain blis cen grád, ni uisse  
toisigeacht sochuide do 'if he correct not his household  
 when he is unordained, it is not proper for him to have  
 the leading of a multitude' 28 b 28.

- ML (1) dia ndam chondelo fritsu, a Daé, nita ferr indaas cethir  
'if I compare myself to Thee O God I am no better than a  
brute beast' 91 d 8.
- (2) is samlid is deid som má arí in fer so 'it is thus he is  
at ease if he find this man' 30 d 24.
- (3) maní nairí immurgu ní deid 7 is bronach a bethu amal sodin  
'if he find him not, however, he is not at ease and his  
life is then sad' 30 d 24.
- mani accastar is samlaid gailid ní 'if it be not seen it  
is thus that it catches something' 50 a 5.
- VT (2) mád fir im a luga, tairisid in chloch ina haigned choir  
'if his oath is true however the stone remains in its  
proper element' 88
- LL (1) ní miad limsa diam túscu dó iond áth ná damsa 'I do not  
deem it honourable if he be at the ford earlier than I  
(may be)' 9179.
- (3) Daig nida beosa meni benur mo thrí bráthbemmenda bar Ultaib  
indiu 'for I do not live unless I strike my three blows of  
justice(?) upon the Ulstermen today' 12265.
- PH (1) in rig imorro, dia ndena imarbus, ni bidba do neoch aile  
he acht do'n ri nemda nammá 'the king however if he commit  
sin he is not an enemy to anyone else but to the King of  
heaven indeed' 4088.
- (2) mad forcetul - dogné is ed is coir dun uli umaloit do  
'if it is teaching he do, it is (that it is) right for us  
all to submit to it' 1688
- (3) is mor in guasacht do'n foirind ... mina be rath Dé- ic  
a n-incomet 'it is a great danger to the band unless the  
grace of God be protecting them' 4120.
- AS (1) is cuntabairt da cluine sí sind mar sin fos 'it is doubtful  
if she hears us that way yet' 5945.



- AS (3) misi féin as mealta dhe sin 'ar Cailte muna fhédur '(it is I myself) who is deceived by that if I cannot do (it)' 981.
- SBC (1) da fiafraighir ... ader misi 'if you ask I say' 950.
- (2) fedaidh se so, madh ail leis 'he can do this if he like' 3103.
- (3) gurub aire sin nach leor na comhraití diadha do leghadh ... muna coimhlíntur iad 'therefore it is not enough to read godly words unless they are carried out' 5228.
- BC (1) dá cuirther trí huairé deisiul a timchell sluaigh Gineoil Conaill é ... is dual co ticfadh slan far buaidh 'if it is put three times sunwise around the O'Donnell host, it is customary that your victory would be clean' p. 182, l. 37.
- TBB (1) dá ndeachair, ní heagail duit dol amudha 'if you go, you do not fear to go astray' 10768.
- (2) madh bréagach ... a bhriathra, is comhartha gurab é ifreann is dúthaigh dhó 'if his words be untrue it is a sign that Hell is the place for him' 1779.
- (3) ní fhuil glaise san bhiath i ngeig na deagh - oibre mina gcomhnaidhe sí i bpréimh an ghrádha 'there is no greenness in the branch of a good word unless it remain rooted in love' 9183.
- PB (3) ar an adhbhar muna ccuirthar srian ris an goraos a'chéad uair, ní bhfuil ach díomhaoineas cur a n-aghaidh na ndubh-áilcídhe eile 'because if gluttony be not restricted in the first place, it is only idleness to oppose the other vices' 1159.

These pres. subj. prot. forms are replaced by the future in the protasis in PB and SB.

- PB (3) muna mbiaidh ann acht aonghráinne ... tógbhann an fiuchadh a n-uachtar é 'if only one grain (will) be in it the fermentation brings it to the top' 1245\* (Future).

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\*B text muna mbia 3317. See Ó Cuív, op.cit. 172.

SB (3) mara ndéanfair ní feidir leat do leigheas a dh'fáil 'if you will not do it you cannot get a cure' p. 22, l. 40 (Fut.).

GG The subjunctive occurs again in GG:

(3) mura ndéana sibh gníomh ní fiú bhur n-ainm sibh 'if you do not act you are not worth your name' p. 104, l. 25 (2).

Pres. Subj. Prot.

Imper. Apod.

LL (2) acht tabrat chath damsa ar maig Ae madi (leg. mad) tecra leo 'let them give me battle on the Plain of Ae if they so choose' 11651.

(3) na bered nech mathim na hanacul inniu úait mani bera firchara 'let no one carry forgiveness or burial from you today unless a true friend carry (them)' 12219 (Future).

PH (1) feg latt for iffern, dia nderna olc fri mog Dé 'look forward to Hell if you do evil to the servant of God' XXVI 798.

(3) cret-siu in toen - Dia mine dernat 'believe the one God if they do not' 741.

SBC (1) da tuctar cuireadh duit, na suigh a n-inud ard ann 'if an invitation be given to you do not sit in a high place there' 1560.

(2) madh ail leat biadh do mothuchan ... féach 7 caith go minic e 'if you desire to feel (the effect of food) taste and eat it often' 546.

TB (3) muna fhéada grádh Dé do chongbháil, go hairithe congbadh 7 orghráineadh uamhan an bhreitheamhnais 'if he be unable to keep the love of God, let him keep and detest the dread of the judgement' 6847.

SB (3) mara ndéanfai' sibh ná doirihíg mo bhoth-se go brách aríst 'if you do not (do it) do not darken my house ever again' P. 75, l. 12.

Pres. Subj. Prot.Future Apod.

- Wb (1) dia mbenmi hi combás bemmi i comindocbail 'if we be in death together, we shall be in glory together' 24 a 10.
- (2) mad co ndiuiti doindnastar atluchfam buidi do Dia 'if they be given with singleness we will render thanks to God for it' 17 a 2.
- (3) mani pridaḡ atbéi ar ócht et gorti 'if I preach not I shall die of cold and hunger' 10 d 24.
- Ml (1) dia ndadercaither su, atbelat som 'if you look at them, they will die' 102 b 10.
- (3) airimfolngub-sa amairis doib-som maninsóirae-se 'for I shall cause distrust to them if thou save me not' 142 b 3.
- VT (1) creitfe-sa, día tódíuscae mo macc dom 'I shall believe if you resuscitate my son for me' 2323.
- (3) atbélam dib línaib mani tomliur in lus sin 'we shall both die unless I partake of that plant' 2348.
- LL (1) dianom gluasiur itir assin magin i tú nom thescfat roith iarnaide in charpait 'if I move at all out of the place I am the iron wheels of the chariot will cleave me' 8717.
- (2) bud é mo fhecht dedenach co brunni mbrátha mad darius Emain oenfhecht 'it will be my last time until eternity if I come to Emain once' 8599.
- (3) munu díglatsom a chétóir sein ní degélat cobrunni mbrátha 'if they do not avenge that immediately they will not avenge it until the judgement' 11443.
- PH (1) dia saera Jacob tu o na cuibrigib filet fort cretfetsa do 'if Jacob frees you from the fetters that are upon you I shall believe in him' 2191
- (3) 'mina tuca damsa uli indmas in cholaig Timmoteus 7 mina derna buden idbairt dom dheib-se, piann faither thú o



pianaib exam lai 'unless you give all the criminal Timoteus's wealth and unless you yourslef sacrifice to my gods you will be tortured by various tortures' 294.

AS (1) da tucair-se adhmilled ... ar an ríg ... millfet-sa tusa  
'if you cause destruction to the king I shall destroy you'  
6411.

(3) muirbfimid-ni thú ... muna thuca th'ingen duind 'we will  
kill you if you do not give your daughter to us' 7482.

SBC (1) da n-abrur-sa an fhirindi ribh, ni chreitifidhi uaim hí  
'if I say the truth to you, you will not believe it from  
me' 2699.

(3) muna fagur in fuaslagadh sin as do ghrasaibh-si rachat  
amuga 'if I do not get relief from your grace I shall go  
astray' 3162.

BC (1) ni indeos dá faghar a fis uaid-se 'I shall not tell if I  
get knowledge of it from you' p. 418, l. 29.

(2) berad madh ail let fen 'I shall take (you) if you like'  
p. 252, l. 3.

(3) muna fagham gach ní dib sud andso fein, aorfam 7 cainfem  
tú 'unless we get every one of those things even here, we  
shall satirise and calumniate you' p. 286, l. 10.

TBB (1) airdeóchaid snas sinn dá rabhaid fúinn 'they will raise us  
up if they be under us' 8032.

(2) agus dá raibhe neimhchiontach, rachaidh i sosadh aingeal  
7 madh coireach cuirfidhear i gearcair il - phiastaigh  
ifrinne é 'and if he be innocent he will go to the angelic  
haven and if he be guilty he will be put in the many-monstered  
prison of hell' 801.

(3) muna dherna tú faire, tiocfad id dháil amhail bithbhineach  
'unless you watch I shall come for you like a thief' 128.

- PB (1) dá raibh sbioraid fhaillíghtheach a nduine biaidh an chalann  
ag greamughadh neithe éigin go láothamhuil in a haghaidh  
 'if a person have a negligent spirit the body will be seizing  
 upon something every day in opposition to it' 3391.
- (3) ionnas muna múchtar ' 7 muna ccurthar do lea'taoibh na  
haindúile sin go mbiaidh an t-aram 'na sglámhuidhe ag an  
ccoluinn 'so that, unless these evil desires are repressed  
 and put aside, the soul will be a slave to the body' 2157.
- SB (3) mara bhfaighimid an fáine tá er mhéir t'iníne, buinfam an  
ceann díot 'if we do not get the ring which is on your  
 daughter's finger we will take off your head' p. 6, l. 16.
- (3) mara ndéanfair, beig an mhuc ag sodar a d'dhiaig 'if you will  
 not do (it) the pig will be trotting after you' p.54, l.3 (Fut.)
- GG (3) mura bhfana tú amach, cuirfidh mé an corpán sin síos sa  
choire 'if you do not stay out I will put that body down  
 into the cauldron' p. 85, l. 16 (2).

Pres. Subj. Prot.Sec. Fut. Apod.<sup>1</sup>

- M1 (1) dia tar-sin eonac n-do som, seichfed som du firinni-siu  
 'if thou givest understanding to him, he would follow thy  
 truth' 89 c 5.
- LL (3) mani tucthar ass noticfaid 'if it be not taken out I  
 would heal thee' 124 a 44.

Past Subj. Prot.Pres. Indic. Apod.

- VT (1) dia tarta iñ séutu ... do chach- nī gataim airi 'if ye  
 were to have given treasures to everyone I take them not  
 from him' 1486.
- Sg (3) issed a ndliged do gres mani foired causa euphoniae 'this  
 is always the rule unless the causa euphoniae were to  
 operate' 157 b 11.

<sup>1</sup>Strachan, TPs 1896-97, pp. 262, 278, Mixed Condit. Sent.

- AS (3) muna derntáí maith icabhur cosnum is cuntabairt daib nech dabur feind ...d'fhaicsin 'if you were not to do well in defending yourselves it is doubtful whether you will see one of your warriors' 5141.
- SBC (3) muna thiothea chugainne is marthanach do bedis ar n-anmunna a n-ifern 'if you had not come to us it is eternally that our souls would be in hell' 4798.
- GG (1) nótá sé ro ghiobach ag caile ar biath, dá mbíodh sí comh crón ... le Scáthaigh 'for he is too scraggy for any hag, if she were as dark as Scáthach' p. 114, l. 9 (2).

The following have the conditional with dá in the protasis:

Conditional Prot.

Pres. Indic. Apod.

- PB dá roinnféa liom ... is fada roimhe seo do bhiadh m'anam caillte 'if You dealt with me it is long before this my soul would be lost' 936.
- SB (3) is olc an bí é, mara ndéanfadh se deoch do locht an fhiabharais 'it is a bad food if it would not make a drink for people with fever' p. 55, l. 5.
- EM ní bás liom mo bhás dá bhféadfainn a fhágháil 'my death is not my death if I could get an opportunity' p. 6, l. 9.

Past Subj. Prot.

Pret. Apod.

- Wb (2) ar boí són in potestate mea ma d-a- gnenn 'for it was in my power if I had done it' 10 d 31.
- (3) ba miscuis atroi lisset ... mani thised trocaire 'it was hatred they deserved ... if mercy had not come' 4 c 18.
- Ml (3) robu mór a homun liumsa ón mad and atbelmaisni isnaib immedaib hi robammar 7 maninscoerthae riam 'great was the fear of it with me if we should die there in the troubles in which we were, and if we should not be delivered before' 41 d 9.



- VT (3) ro imeclaigset a n-epeltin manid chuired Pátraic hé i nn-iffernn 'they feared they would die unless Patrick put him to Hell' 1017.
- PH (3) mani bad tresi Pilip tanic for menmain do a breth dia ohind co menice 'if Phillip were not the stronger it came into his mind to catch him by the head often' 832.
- SBC (3) uair ní fed[r]amair cad do genmuis muna tigidh sibh 'for we did not know what we would do if you had not come' 4337.
- BC (3) tucc se ... Dál Riada da mliathadh ... muna faghdaois treoir eli 'he gave Dál Riada for their provision if they did not get other help' p. 366, l. 181
- EM (1) dá ndéanainn a mhalairt do bhí 'fhios agam an luach saothair a bheadh le fagháil agam uatha 'if I did the opposite I knew the reward I would get from them' p. 92, l. 7.

Past Subj. Prot.Condit. Apod.

- Wb (1) robad bethu dom dianchom alninn 'it would be life for me if I fulfilled it' 3 c 28.
- (3) nímaricfed manitindnised in t-athir nemde 'it would not have succeeded(?) had not the Heavenly Father given Him' 4 b 13.
- M1 (1) ni tibertais piana foraib mani esersitis 'they would not have brought suffering on them if they had not arisen' 15 c 7.
- VT (3) maniba t'ainmnet ... nut scáilfeth nert cumachta Dé 'were it not for your obstinacy the strength of the power of God would release you' 859.
- LL (1) Dia fessaindse fessin ní thicfaínd 'if I knew myself I would not have come' 9359.
- (3) daig ar bith meni bethe arin tshluagudsa doraismis Ultu 'if you had not been on this expedition we would have reached Ulster' 8210.

- PH (1) ar dia cluined, ro-s-muirbfed uli iat 'for if he heard he would kill them all' 577.
- (3) 'mina chredindse he ... ni-s-cuirfind techta ar dho chendsa 'if I had not believed I would not have sent a messenger for you' 450.
- AS (2) da faicmis in poll 7 in comartha ... ro chreid-fimaís sin 'if we were to see the hole and the sign we would believe' 4477.
- SBC (1) da tuictea tú féin aniugh do chaifea 'if you understood yourself today you would weep' 3009.
- (3) muna faghmais-ne i n-a duine aingidh fhallsa he, ni tibrimais chugad-sa he 'if we had not found him to be a wicked false man we would not have brought him to you' 3760.
- BC (1) dá mbeith a fhis agat-sa nocha biadh fodhord agat air 'if you knew, you would not be murmuring about it' p. 114, l. 7.
- (3) ni gebhaind breth ar bith naid mora gabainn a n-onoir an mic bendaigte 'I would not accept any judgement from him unless I accepted it in honour of the Blessed Son' p. 40, l. 18.
- TBB (1) dá dtugdaois lucht an díomusa dá n-aire an coimh-measgadh so ... do thréigfidís a n-uail 'if the proud drew their attention to this mingling they would forsake their conceit' 872.
- PB (1) dá thugthá Argus leat i chum i do choimeád, níorbh fhéidir leis a coimeád dá haimhdheóin 'if you had Argus with you to guard her he could not guard her against her will' 1702.
- (3) a ccás, muna thugthaoi cead labhartha dhúinn, nách deánfai-dís ár tteangtha ... seirbhís dúinn 'so that unless we were given permission to speak our tongues would render us no service' 374.

- SB (1) ach dá mbíoch sé 'gabháilt di ... n'fhéadfach se an chuíora a cheangal 'but if he were trying it ... he would not be able to tie the sheep' p. 36, l. 28.
- (3) Ach do phósfach Piaras í mara mbeach go raibh canáile mhúreatortha 'Pierce would have married her if it were not that there was a great chasm between them' p. 39, l. 9 (condit.).
- EM (1) dá gcuirtí gach droichead ... i n-aon droichead amháin, ní bheidís chomh mór leis an droichead seo 'if all the bridges were put into one bridge they would not be as big as this bridge' p. 14, l. 26.
- (3) muna mbeadh, bheadh a hathair ag casaoid 'if she were not, her father would be complaining' p. 29, l. 24 (condit.).
- mara mbeadh duine an-chleachtach ar shnaoisín, chaithfeadh sé imtheacht 'if one were not very used to snuff, he would have to go' p. 45, l. 30 (condit.).
- go ndéanfaidís arís é muna seasadh muintir na n-Éireann 'that they would do it again if the Irish people would not stand' p. 72, l. 12.
- EM (3) go gceapadh duine nach droichead ar chor ar bith é mara ndear cadh sé go grinn air 'that a person might think that it was not a bridge at all if he were not to look at it carefully' p. 14, l. 24.
- GG (1) ní shásódh an Liath Mhacha é dá mbíodh sí ar an tsrian aige 'the Grey of Macha would not satisfy him if he had her by the reins' p. 96, l. 2 (2)



## CHAPTER XVII

## COMPARATIVE CLAUSES

The conjunctions which introduce comparative clauses in Irish include the following: cruth, indas, inne, feib, amail, mar, fa/fe mar, do réir mar, do nós mar, amhail mar, all meaning 'as'. Formally, they can be divided into two types. The first group comprises cruth, indas, inne, feib and amail; words of a conjunctival nature and function which have developed from nouns meaning respectively, form, manner, essence, likeness, quality. These nouns, in oblique case-forms without the article, are looked upon as absolute forms and having assumed the function of adverbs, they introduce adverbial comparative clauses. They are ultimately considered to be <sup>1</sup>full conjunctions as in the case of feib and amail.

Excepting amail, the history and distribution of this type is confined mainly to the Old and Middle Irish period. The occurrence of cruth, inne and indas is rare even in O.I. Feib is comparatively infrequent in the Glosses; it is the commonest comparative conjunction in the LL Táin. In the selected texts, the feib collection<sup>2</sup> peters out with only five examples in the Passions and Homilies.

Amail is the comparative conjunction with the longest life in Irish. It is the most widely used in the Glosses and in the Tripartite Life. Although mar begins to displace it from the tenth century onwards, amhail is still more than twice as common in BC and in TBB. That it was a literary rather than an everyday speech form is indicated by its appearance in the second<sup>3</sup> and not in the first version of PB. Amail is still current in the compounds amhail mar, amhail

<sup>1</sup>indas has specialized as a conjunction introducing consecutive and final clauses.

<sup>2</sup>The examples in the Keating text of fa mar and the faoi/fé/fein mar in later texts may result from a combination of earlier feib with mar. If this is so then Old Irish feib lives on in the language today.

<sup>3</sup>Of the second version of PB, the editor says on p. xxxi, "Although the second version is in places almost word for word the same as the first, it has on the whole an air of artificiality about it which is absent from the latter. This is due partly to the use of obsolescent grammatical forms ...." The incidence of amhail may be cited as a corollary.

agus meaning 'as if' (cf. exx.).

The second group may be styled mar and its compounds. The origins of mar are not clear. It is discussed under mar. Suggestions have been put forward that it is a weakened form of O.I. moir the equative, or the Middle Irish by-form immar (Bergin, Eriu XIV p. 142). It might not be unreasonable to suggest that--like all the conjunctions in the first group--it too comes from some noun in which a comparison is implied in its intrinsic meaning. On the other hand the fact that its appearance is later than any of the others already discussed could mean that the older method of evolving conjunctions introducing comparative clauses from nouns used absolutely had fallen into desuetude. At any rate, mar and its <sup>1</sup> compounds now hold the field in modern spoken and written Irish.

The construction following a comparative conjunction in Old Irish is a nasalising relative clause and later, when this type is broken down, relative forms of the verb are required.

The indicative mood is the usual mood in comparative sentences. In the Old Irish Period, the subjunctive is of very rare incidence. It is the hypothetical subjunctive of possibility which may occur in a general statement. With the decline of the subjunctive mood, it is no longer found in comparative clauses and the indicative occurs exclusively in the later and modern language.

cruth 'as'

Literally cruth 'shape, form, manner,' i.e., '(the) manner that'; it is found with a nasalising relative sentence, e.g.:

Sg .i. cruth nandat chomsuidigthe sidi leo 7 nadtechtat  
tinfe 'as they are not compounds in their opinion and have  
no aspiration' 201 b12

No examples occur in the selected texts.

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<sup>1</sup>For further examples of the magnetic properties of mar with regard to the formation of comparative conjunctions in Modern Irish, cosuil le mar; i gcomórtas le mar; i bhfarradh is mar; included in Graim par. 758.

indas 'such as'

In Old Irish indas (originally verbal noun of in-fét 'relates') is followed by a relative clause with nasalisation.<sup>1</sup> This function of indas occurs in none of the selected texts except in PH where the nasal is no longer present.

Laws<sup>2</sup>

ML is ed asberat som is gau dunni innahi adfiadam dichrisst huare nadnacat hifrecndaire gnímu cosmaili dudenum do christ indas asndafiadamni dundarigni 'they say that we lie in what we declare of Christ, because they do not see Christ do like deeds at the present, such as we declare that He did' 93 d 14.

PH cona gabat a chomorbus-som indus as díngbala doib 'so that they do not receive his heirship as is fitting for them 4246 VII.

inne, inni 'as'

This conjunction inne/inni derives from inne 'essence, middle.' It is followed by nasalising relative construction.<sup>3</sup> Examples are rare in the Old Irish period and are not found at all in the later language. None of the exx. cited, (or found), occurs with a follow-subjunctive. Examples:

Wb .i. inne ropridched duib 'i.e. as has been preached to you' 25 a 40.

<sup>1</sup>OIG 876; Contrib. I fasc. 2 p. 218 l. 22.

<sup>2</sup>cf. na caemnacar a denam indus bu dligthige 'that he was not able to do it as [in a manner that] was more lawful' ALI V p. 158 l. 26 Comm. This sentence might also be construed as indus introducing a consecutive clause in the past tense.

<sup>3</sup>OIG 876; Contrib. I fasc. 2 p. 277.



Ml inni rombatar riam hí tempul 'as they had formerly been in the temple' 62 b 2.

There are no other examples in the texts.

amail, amal amhail 'as'

In Old Irish the most common comparative conjunction is amail, amal 'as.' It is formed from an oblique case of samil 'likeness.' In archaic texts<sup>1</sup> the palatal ending is found and this gave way in Old Irish to the form amal due to velarization in the vocalization of proclitics.<sup>2</sup> In Early Modern Irish the form amhail, amhuil takes over again with palatal final consonant. The usage of the subjunctive with amal 'as' is extremely rare and does not seem to occur after the Old Irish period. Amal is followed by nasalising relative construction in Old Irish, and after the break-down of this structure by a simple relative, the word amhail leniting.<sup>3</sup> Amhail was gradually superseded by mar but occurs frequently still in the seventeenth century. The modern dialect texts afford no examples.

Camb amail assind-beir ap(ostolus): quis etc. 'as the apostle says it: quis etc.' p. 36 l. 3 Old Irish Reader, Thur.(Dublin, 1949).

CG Ni anse: amail arinchain fenechas 'It is not difficult: as the Native Law cites it' 21.

Wb amal nad robe mesrugud forsind immarmus nibia mesrugud forsindigail 'as there has not been moderation as to the sin, there will not be moderation as to the punishment' 1 d 2.

amal fongui cach ball dialailiu is in chorp, ara fogna

<sup>1</sup>In the prima manus of Wb 21 c 10 amail 'as' 22 c 14 amail ata 'as they are.'

<sup>2</sup>OIG 498; 504; 911; ZCP III 49; Strachan "On the Uses of the Subjunctive Mood in Irish" TPS 1897 p. 225 ff; see par. 50; Pedersen KZ XXXV p. 386; Vendryes GVI par. 661 ff; Bergin Eriu XIV p. 142.

<sup>3</sup>In Old Irish the word amal lenites: am/al/chon-degan 'as we ask' Ml 107 c 8.

talland caich uanni dialailiu 'as each member serves the other in the body, that the talent of each of us should serve the other' 12 a 12.

ML ara-ndena aithi(r)gi, amal dund-rigni Ezechias 'that he may practise repentance as E. has practised it' 51 a 16.

.i. acht amal fundlo 'i.e., but as he can endure it' 32 d 2.<sup>1</sup>

VT amal dorairnged didu 7 ro fíugrad, is amlaid forcoimnacuiri 7 ro comallad 'as was prophesied and was visualized, thus it happened and was fulfilled' 353.

is móo ba óer oldás ba molad do Pátraic amal no chanad 'it was more a satire than a praise of Patrick as it was sung' 2916.

Corm amal m-bes aurgnatu in baill isin duiniu hi fuirmither in crecht, is fai dano bíth ind eraic 'as is the dignity of the limb in a man on which the wound is inflicted, in accordance with that is the honour-price'<sup>1</sup> s.v. ness.

LL Tucusa cor 7 coibche duit amal as dech teit do mmai 'I gave you a settlement and a bridal price as best befits a woman' 7589.

PH is and tanic digal De fair .i. Onaim bratain do lenmain 'n-a bragait co mba marb de, amal ro-gell Silvestar 'then the vengeance of God befell him, i.e. a salmon-bone stuck in his throat and he died from it as Sylvester had promised him' II 302.

uair amal nach fedand in dall oibriugad no sibal do denam, is mar-sin ni fedand in t-ii er a mbi esbuid na ngras 'for as the blindman can neither work nor walk, thus the person who lacks grace is helpless' XXXIV 7753.

AS Is amlaid dobeirim duit hi ... amail tucad do gach righ-feinnid romut 'It is thus I give it to you ... as it was

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<sup>1</sup> Exx. of amal with the subjunctive.

given to every royal warrior before you' 2291.

Is annsin (do) riacht ind enlaith d'indsaigid na ngort  
amal ticdis gacha bliadna 'then the birds arrived to  
attack the fields as they used to come every year' 6329.

SBC ni bia do coidreabh farainn isin tsaeghal amhail do gnathaighis  
'your companionship will not be with us in the world as was  
your wont' 5007.

or linfuigher sibh tareis bheacain do laithibh on Spirad  
Naemh amhail geallus duibh 'for after a few days you will  
be filled by the Holy Spirit as I have promised you' 5794.

BC Aous do fírad gach ní dib sin amail adubairt Patruic 'and  
every one of these things was verified as Patrick had said'  
p. 18 l. 33.

do coisricc C.C. an seigtech iar sin, indus cor linadh do  
bainde arís é amail do bi se o tus 'C.C. blessed the vessel  
then, so that it was filled with milk again as it had been  
in the beginning' p. 300 l. 23.

TBB dothreig fein a uile mhaitheas talmhaidhe ar an mbochtacht,  
amhail do-rinne a mhac 'he forsook all his worldly goods  
for poverty, as his son had done' 364.

amhail iomorra bhios an ghainimh laimh re laib na mara,  
mar an gceadna bhios an leisge laimh re laib na locht  
uile 'as indeed the sand is near the mud of the sea, like-  
wise laziness is near the mire of the other faults' 10532.

PB<sup>1</sup> or amhuil bhíid na boicht go ro-umhal ag iarraidh dearca

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<sup>1</sup> Neither of these *exx.* comes from the first recension of PB. It seems to have been deliberate, either to exclude amhail from the first or to use it in the second. The (A) first is dated 1723 and the (B) second 1756.



ar lucht an tsaidhbhris, a shamhuil cheadna is coir dona  
peacachaibh congnamh d'iaraidh ar Dhia 'for as the poor most hum-  
 bly ask the rich for alms, likewise sinners should ask God for  
 help' 2765.

do bhrigh go mbí cion mor ag Día ar úrnaighthibh an úmhail,  
umhail adeir an ríoghfháidh Daibhí humilium et ... 'because  
 God has great affection for the prayers of the humble, man  
 as the royal prophet David says "humilium et ..." 2754

The three dialect texts in Modern Irish have no exx.

fib, feib 'as'

This conjunction is infrequent in Old Irish. It is originally an oblique case of a noun, probably the dative of feb 'good quality'.<sup>1</sup> The form fib may be due to its use as a proclitic. The texts have no exx. after PH. The use of fá, faoi, fé, fein plus mar found in classical and later Irish may be connected with older feib (see below). Nasalising relative construction in Old Irish, later, simple relative sentences occur with feib. The hypothetical subjunctive occurs but this is very rare. Examples:

Laws adfenar feib ronerthar<sup>2</sup> 'it is paid back as it has been bestowed' ZCP XIV 382.

Wb fib as deg ropriched 'as it has been preached best' 23 a 3.

MI feib dund [a]-alla indib 'as there is room in them for them' 30 c 17.

Sg feib fond-uair-som la auc taru) is sam (lid) da-arbuid  
 'as he has found it in authors so he has shown it' 144 b 3.

feib conrerortatar isindi as 'quis' 'as they have erred in

<sup>1</sup> OIG 424; GVI par. 664; Contrib. f-fochraic p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Example of perfective subjunctive in a general statement.

that which is "quis" 210 b 4.

LL Feib ra deligetar a ndáer 7 a mogaid de doeraib 7 mogad-  
aib fer nHerend. Deligfit a ndeglaích 7 a ndegóic do  
deglaichaib 7 de degocaib fer nHerend 'as they separated  
their serfs and bondsmen from the serfs and bondsmen of  
the men of Ireland, they will separate their warriors  
and their champions from the warriors and champions of  
the men of Ireland' 7889

PH Ro-fiugrad tra in ernaigthe-sea .i. in pater i taidbsenaib  
indaib sruthi na fetarlaice feib ro fiugrad is-in árud  
secht-ceimnech tarfas do Iacob eter neam 7 talam 'this  
prayer indeed was prefigured, i.e. the pater, in the  
many visions of the sages of the Old Testament; as it was  
shown in the ladder of seven rungs which was revealed to  
Jacob' 8010.

immar, mar 'as'

The origins of this preposition are uncertain. It is possibly  
a weakened form of the equative moir 'as big as' and cognate with  
the Welsh mor 'like, as'.<sup>1</sup> It might be from a form immar in Middle  
Irish as Bergin has suggested.<sup>2</sup> It does not occur in the Glosses  
nor in VT. Mar occurs in the LL Táin and ultimately replaces  
amhail in Modern Irish as the commonest comparative conjunction.  
It occurs in combination with other prepositions as the second  
element in other comparative conjunctions from TBB onwards of. fá,

<sup>1</sup>Bergin, Ériu XIV p. 142; Contrib. I fasc. I p. 125, l. 30 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Bergin says "Another source is the Mid. Ir. by-form immar.  
In immaróen fri, later maróen ri (ra), 'along with,' we seem to  
have róen-path preceded by imma n- 'around their'.... This would be  
indistinguishable in pronunciation from immar óen; in 'dán díreach'  
it is treated indifferently as ma raon or ma aon, alliterating with r  
or as a vowel." Ériu XIV *ibid.*

aoi, fé, féin/mar; amhail mar; do reir mar etc. Mar is followed by relative clause, but in the dialect texts it is not followed by a relative particle (but see mar leanas SB p. 82, l. 11); no negative xx. are found in this contemporary material. Examples:

TBC ratchur in cathmilid fail itt agid mar chúras ben baíd a mac 'the battle warrior that is against you has shaken you as a fond woman shakes her child' 10745.

PH co nach cumaing ingreim na heclaisi o-sin ille mar dúthracair 'so that he is unable to persecute the church as he wishes since that time' 4762.

AS 7 mar do cinn an ingen ar mhnaibh na Féinne um thidh, acul set 7 máine ro chinnesdar [cael .i.] a fer, a ngail 7 a ngaisciudh ar tri cathaib na Féinne isin cath sin 'and as the maiden excelled among the women of Fianna in bestowing jewels and wealth, her husband i.e. Cael superseded the three battallions of the Fianna in that battle, in valour and in feats of battle' 831.

SBC oir ni sastur misi o biadh ele sa domhun mar do-nither o n-a biadh-si 'I am not satisfied by any other food in the world as is effected by her food' 1389.

BC Acus do firud sin amail adubairt Patruic; mar bus follus is in scel ata a n-inad eli 'and that was verified as Patrick had said; as will be clear in the story which is elsewhere' p. 16, l. 19.

TBB Agus mar nach raibhe tearmann ng aon do lucht chathrach Ierusalem ón oirleach ... mar sin ní bhí tairiseacht ó dhíoghaltas Dé ag aon-duine 'and as not one of the citizens of Jerusalem had sanctuary from the destruction ... likewise nobody has security from the vengeance of God' 714.



PB Iarraidh ar Dhia coghnadh do thabhuirt díbh-se mar iarraim-  
se leis na bréithribh so 'ask God to give you help as I ask  
in these words' 315.

SB ac mar taim anis nílim a' cur puin spéise a n-aení 'but as  
I am now I have no interest at all in anything' p. 76, l. 37.

EM. a' raibh an Ghaedhilg d' á labhairt go binn blasta ann  
gach lá mar bhí sa tír seo? 'Was Irish spoken sweetly  
and melodiously there every day as it was in this country?'  
p. 6, l. 16.

GG Brúightear agus claoidhtear iad faoi 'n mheadhachan  
nathbhásach mar brúidheadh Muire Aoine Chéasta ar an  
chasán go Calbhairí 'they are bruised and prostrated  
under the awful weight as Mary was bruised on Good Friday  
on the path to Calvary' p. 23, l. 16.

fá, faoi, fé, féin mar 'as'

This conjunction of manner does not occur in the texts before Keating. In TBB only three examples are found; fá mar in each case. The forms fa, fe, fein mar occur in PB. It is found in neither the Connacht nor the Ulster dialect texts, but féin mar is universal in SB; mar alone, is found only three times as a comparative conjunction in the latter.

The origins of this fa mar are not clear.<sup>1</sup> An echo of Old Irish and Middle Irish feib is plausible although neither feib nor fa mar occurs in the texts between PH and TBB. Another explanation may be sought in the confusion between im and fá, due to which the form immar would give fá mar.<sup>2</sup> This would be a corruption of immar.

<sup>1</sup>Contrib. f-fochraic p. 175, l. 6.

<sup>2</sup>See pp. 89, 93 above, for examples of this confusion in verbal phrases; see also Stair Ercuill ocus a Bás p. 201 where as the editor E. G. Quin points out "in many cases fa has taken the meaning of im with which it has been phonetically confused."

This would bear out Bergin's suggestion that the source of mar is the by-form immar which might then be seen to have developed into two forms of similar meaning mar 'as' and fa mar 'as.'

It is followed by a relative form of the verb in TBB and PB. The forms of the copula following it are not relative in PB and the relative forms are not found at all in SB. Examples:

TBB Mar an gcéadna ní heigeneasta commaoin do chur ar an marbh bhios i ndaoirse phurgadóra, do bhríogh gurab mac Ríogh ro-uasail é, fa mar adeir an scríoptuir 'filii Dei nominamur et sumus' Likewise it is not unsuitable to put the dead in the bondage of Purgatory under an obligation, because he is the son of a most noble King, as the Scripture says "Filii etc." 4768

PB Ataim admhalach nach fuil fuirm sg. iobhneora agam annsa n Gaoidheilg ... faoi mar do bhiadh ag daoineibh seanaimsiortha I confess that I have not the style of a writer in the Irish language ... as people in olden times had' 225.

SB níor dhearuid an bhaintíreach na pratai a chuir a' cuine na tine, fein mar durach la 'the widow did not forget to put the potatoes in the corner of the fire(place) as she had been told' p. 68, l. 31.

do re(i)r mar

de reir m, d'reir mar 'as, according as'

The meaning of this conjunction on occasion implies the degree of the action in the following clause. It comes from the compound preposition do reir which originally meant 'at the will of, obedient to' and the conjunction mar.<sup>1</sup> The first exx. are in BC and the last in PB. (At least the PB exx. are the last which could be termed comparative.) No exx. occur in SB and the Connacht and Ulster texts have a

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<sup>1</sup>Contrib. R p. 59, l. 3.

preponderantly temporal meaning in the exx. which they furnish although an element of degree is present; the action is considered as being contemporaneous and complementary in the relative clause. Relative forms of the verb follow do réir mar, although not exclusively in the dialects; the use of the imperfective periphrastic iteratives with this conjunction may be noted in contemporary usage in EM and GG. Examples:

BC Acus do bi C.C. 'n-a beathaigh aimser ecin iar sin do réir mar tuicim-se é 'and C.C. lived sometime thereafter as I understand it' p. 380, l. 12.

TBB Agus atáid sé gnéithe peacadh ann fhreagras dóibh sin--do réir mar chuirfeam síos annso 'and there are six kinds of sin which correspond to those -- as we shall record them here' 7,890.

PB 7 nách féidir linn fios aonni do bheith aguinn gan solas d'fhagháil air, do réir mar adeir an file: 'ignoti nulla cupido' 'and that we cannot know of anything without receiving enlightenment concerning it, as the poet says "ignoti etc."' 2191.

EM do réir mar bhí mé ag iarraidh bheith ag grinnid an t seomra 'as I was talking, I was trying to scrutinize the room' p. 19, l. 33.

GG De réir mar bhí an saoghal ag éirghe cruaidh, bhí na daoine ag déanamh corinhthigheas lechéile 'as life was getting hard, people were becoming antagonistic to one another' p. 82, l. 23

do nos mar 'like as, as'

This combination of do nós and mar seems to be formed on the analogy of do réir mar. In the selected texts it is found only in TBB. Nós means custom, manner, hence its use in a compound comparative conjunction of manner.<sup>1</sup> Presumably it is followed by relative forms.

One cannot speak for the examples furnished as both forms occur with the third singular present indicative of the copula. Examples:

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<sup>1</sup>Bergin TBB Vocab. nos p. 459.



TBB cuirthear an nímhir chinnte, a deich ar son nuimhreach éig-  
cinnte, do nós mar is gnáth san sgrioptuír 'The definite  
 number ten is put instead of an indefinite number as is customary  
 in the scripture' 7, 861.

amhvil mar 'as'

A conjunction formed from the obsolescent amhuil and mar which superseded it. The texts seem to have only one example in PB where it introduces a series of sentences containing explanatory examples of the point of the main sentence. Miss O'Rahilly cites two examples of amhuil mar in Trompa na bhFlaitheas a Munster text of some sixty years later. This conjunction takes relative forms of the verb after it. Examples:

PB dá bhrígh sin ní bhfuighid a n-athehiuníge. Amhuil mar do bhí  
dies mhac Zebideus(sic)dar athchuinneadar (air) duine aco do  
shuighe ar a láimh dheis 7 duine eile ar a láimh (enli) '...There-  
fore they do not receive their requests. As Zebedes had two sons  
who asked him that one of them should sit on his right hand and  
the other on his left' 721.

TF<sup>1</sup> criad a mhéid -- do ghlaofaídh i láimh lucht briste a dlighe --  
amhuil mar dhearbhuigheas Naomh Peadair: Mas ar eigion etc.. 'To  
what extent He will take in hand the transgressors of His law --  
as St. Peter asseverates: If it is hardly etc.' pp. 2210-2219.

The forms of the conjunctions which correspond to English as if, as though, are the following: amail, mar, immar, fá mar, amhail mar, mar go, mar dhe, mar dhe is, ocus, amail agus. The words amail and mar are the two principal ones. Their morphological and etymological growth has been already discussed in the previous chapter on conjunctions meaning as.

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<sup>1</sup> Trompa na bhFlaitheas ed. C.O'Rahilly, Dublin 1955, p. 322.

Perhaps a further word about amail which unlike mar, is never the second element in a double conjunction; as for instance in amhail mar and amhail agus. Of the selected texts, a conjunction mar go appears in Keating and in no other. There are at least fifteen examples (as mar never means 'as if' in this text, they are included with the examples of mar 'as if' from all the other books). The only example of immar, (Bergin's by-form), in all the selected works, occurs meaning 'as if' in the Passions and Homilies.

The mar dhe, mar dhe is<sup>1</sup> type is not a true comparative conjunction at all. It simply means that what follows is untrue. It occurs in the dialect texts only and seems to be from mar/ (budh)/eadh "as though it were" and the same combination followed by is agus. The reason why it may not be considered as a true comparative meaning 'as if' is because it is not followed by a conditional as would be expected in Modern Irish. It is more of a phrase-type which introduces indirect speech.

The earliest verbs after amail meaning 'as if' are non-relative but even in the glosses this is not always so and relative forms come in. The earliest mar form, in the Tripartite Life is with negative relative construction. The Past subjunctive is always used, merging with and finally supplanted by the conditional in Early Modern Irish. Relevant examples of this are pointed out in lists.

amal, amhail 'as if'

In Old Irish this conjunction introduces a non-relative clause. The mood which follows amal 'as if' is as a rule the past subjunctive. This non-relative construction is not felt to be so, any more in later speech, and one finds amal na for the older amal ni<sup>2</sup>. Likewise, as the subjunctive declines in Irish, the conditional takes its place, in BC for instance.

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<sup>1</sup>This is a common word in Anglo-Irish usage. "Moriyah, he came" -- English colloquial--'he came, I don't think' in other words 'he didn't come'

<sup>2</sup>Strachan has shown that in the glosses the forms occur with the substantive verb as amal bid, negative amal ni bad and that in later Irish this is not so: viz. amal bad LL 251a1. He also points out that the relative negative comes in: see amal na dernad 'as though he had not made' LV100b39. (Subj. 9 51 footnotes 1,2:) see also the second example in PH in selected texts.

It is difficult to speak for the earlier texts as the examples are unique; in both AS and SBC and both contain the substantive verb concerning which it is extremely difficult to state whether forms are conditional or past subjunctive although it is likely the subjunctive is used in these cases.<sup>1</sup>

Examples:

WB amal ni risiann.se do bar cose 'as though I were not coming to correct you' 9a19.

ropridhad dúib céssad Crist amal adcathe forócrad dúib amal lid fiádib nocrochthe 'The Passion of Christ has been preached to you as though it were seen, or it has been announced to you as if he had been crucified before you' 19 b 6.

ML<sup>2</sup> amal bid nech immechomairsed dans 'as though someone had asked moreover' 20 b 18.

VT Ro in(s)órchaigset a chiucc mer in mag n-uile amal bitis choic sutralla 'His five fingers illuminated the whole plain as though they were five lights' 1447

PH is ed asbert amal na fesaiad Qia tanic and 'this is what it said as if it had not known who came there' XX 3893.

ro bennachad tu o churp Crist do beth innut, amal betis mar grétai 7 clocha cúntaig in domain betis 'cot chumtach 'you have been blessed because the Body of Christ has been in you as though the pearls and precious stones of the world had been covering you' XXIII 2445

AS eo tarrla ina halt 7 ina hinadh fein coir amal do beth aimser reime ga hindsma 'so that it fell into its own socket and into its place neatly as if it had been fitting it for a long time' 4905.

<sup>1</sup> To quote Bergin: "The past subj. differed from the cond. only in the 3 sg, and even here in Early Mid. Gr. the cond. biad begins to be used for the subj. - beth." TBB Introduction p. XX.

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere amal bid -- petrified translates Latin velut p. 61 Old Gr. Reader: Thurneysen. But this construction does not take the subjunctive, i.e. in the following clause, Amal bid alaili chumachtaig rethes (not noressed) gl. ut alicuius potentis 'as though of some mighty man who runs' ML 42 c 19. Vendryes 9702.



SBC eirghedh h'indtind agus sandtaigh torad d'fagbhail ar an adersa rit amhail do beithea fein ar an lathair 'Let your mind rouse itself and let you desire to profit from what I shall say to you as if you were on the spot yourself' 130

BC Ro erigh an macam a cedoir le lneithir C.C. amail do ereochad as a eodladh 'The youth rose immediately at Columba's words as if he were rising up from sleep' p.72, l. 41.

TBB surab annamh bhios luadh ná iomrádh ag mnaoi ná ag clainn ar an duine ó dho-gheibh bás, amhail do bhiadh gráin mhairbh aca air 'That it is seldom that a wife or family speaks or thinks of a man, when he is dead as though they had a deadly hate for him' 4253.

mar 'as if'

mar 'as if' like mar 'as' is not found in the glosses. It occurs once in VT.

It is always found with following relative construction unlike earlier amail 'as if' which in Old Irish takes independent clauses after it. The past subjunctive which is implicit with 'as if' clauses is supplanted by the conditional in Early Modern Irish, the SBC text providing a definite instance of this for the first time in the selected texts. Examples:

VT mar nach comairsed oic friu 'as if harm had not befallen them' 143.  
LL<sup>1</sup>

PH dogniind din a ndethite 7 airchissecht dib, mar no-béind athair doib, 7 no betis-seom meo dam-sa 'I used indeed have the care of them and pity for them as I though I were their father and they were my sons' XV 6106.

AS rotsuid ar in tuind ina fiadnaissi mar do tsuidhedh ar tulaig no ar carraic 'she sat on the sea in their presence as if she were sitting on a hillock or on a rock' 3213.

SBC Deus tainic Muire Magdalena fa guth a sethar go heglach mar do eireochadh as a eodladh 'and Mary Magdalen came timidly at her sister's voice as if she rose from her sleep' 2513.

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<sup>1</sup>The only occurrence seems to be an example with inversion, of mar 'as if' mar bo ataslilad 'as though a cow had licked it' 8751.

BC Aissling do condairc Baithin naemtha --i. mar do taisbenfuidhe  
flaithes De do 'St. Baithin beheld a vision--viz. as though  
God's Heaven were revealed to him' p. 120, l. 11.

TBB beimid mar nach rabhamar ann riamh 'we shall be as though we had  
 never been' 4294.

PB inntinn an tnúthánaig mar déantaí dorchá be gai gréine li  
cathughadh oirthi i ttaoibh maithis duinl eile 'the mind of  
 the envious man as though it were obscured by the sun's ray, is  
 afflicted at the prosperity of another' 1458.

SB bhuail sí chúihé an gráine mine ar an méis; ach mar bheách a' nimh  
er an aithine do leim cearc a n-aírde er stuaic a'lochtaig 'she put  
 the grain of meal on the dish, but as though it were for spite a  
 hen jumped up on the head of the loft' p.33, l.13.

EM d'imthigh liom mar bheadh gear-theineadh ann 'I went off as if  
 a thunderbolt were there (like a thunderbolt). p.74, l.6.

GG Bhí aoibh ar Eilís mar bheadh grian na Eéil Eoin ann 'Elizabeth  
 was beaming as though the sun of St. John's Day were there (like  
 the sun on St. John's Day) ' p. 14, l. 21.

fein mar 'as if'

In the texts this conjunction with the meaning 'as if' occurs only in  
 SB: with relative clause following. Example:

SB agus do shocarúig sé go deas í, fein mar bheach si 'n-a bheathaig  
 'and he arranged her neatly, as though she were alive' p. 31, l. 7.

amhail mar 'as if'

This conjunction is not found with conditional connotation in the  
 texts. However, these exx. from the Christian Brothers' Grammar are cited:

Ta se ag siul amhail mar a bheadh na broga a ghontu 'he is walking as though his shoes were pinching'

Ta se ag siul amhail mar nach mbeadh ait na coise deanta aige sna broga nua 'He is walking as if he had not fitted his foot into place in the new shoes' Graim. par. 756.

amhail is / DA  
amhail agus as if

Similarly amhail is da (as if) does not occur in the texts. But it is found in Modern Irish, e.g.

mhol se an sagart amhail is da mba e an Papa a bheadh ann 'He praised the priest as though he were the Pope' Graim par. 760.

mar dhe is 'as though'

The following examples occur of mar dhe is go, mar dhea go, the former being in SB (see above p. 250).

SB bhuail se mala fe n-'oscail is maide 'n-a laimh, mar dhe is gur bacach e 'he took a bag under his arm and stick in his hand as if he were a beggarman' p.4, l 37.

mar dhea 'as if'

Chuaigh se abhaile go luath mar dhea go raibh tinneas air 'He went home early as though he were ill' Christian Bs.' Grammar 761 p. 381.



## CHAPTER XVIII

## NOUN CLAUSES

Noun clauses include (1) completive statements, (2) indirect commands, and (3) indirect questions.

(1) Completive statements comprise indirect speech after verbs of saying, thinking, feeling, causing, fearing, wishing etc. The development of such a clause has been discussed by Vendryes (BSL 50.12 ff.); it entails the shift of the object of the main clause to a new function as subject of the subordinate clause e.g. ro innis dó Éoin Culaind (acc.) amal ro boi 'he told him Cú Culaind, how he was' > ro innis do Cu Culaind (nom.) amal ro boi 'he told him, how Cú Culaind was' (see p.69 above). The subjunctive of implied hypothesis may occur in these clauses or the subjunctive may be imposed by the conjunctions.<sup>1</sup> Examples:

Wb is glé limsa rombia buaid 'it is clear to me that I shall be victorious' 11 a 10

ML confitetat són ata ndoini 'they have learned that they are men' 91 c 18

In the same type of construction non-relative forms occur e.g.

ML duadbat id do babilondaib téit 'he shows that it refers to the Babylonians' 47 a 17

Vt. doruimenatar bádis fir shithe 'they thought they were men from the fairy mounds' 1112

con- occurs with such clauses in VT e.g. it beir Éoin conid hé ind fírhoillsi he 'John that He is the true Light' 64; o'tcondairc... muime Pátraic co forbred rath ndé ann 'since Patrick's nurse saw that God's Grace increased in him' 149. This is the type of construction used with these clauses throughout the history of the language; the negative equivalent is na, nach.

Completive statements are also introduced by cia 'even if' (hence 'that') preceded by an expression 'it is just, fitting, reasonable etc.'

Examples:

Wb. is uisse ce ru samaltar fri Críst 'it is just that he be likened to Christ' 34 a 4

LL nocorb eicin machtad i ingantus de giano Thised cohor críche gana marbad fer 'there was no need for amazement and wonder at it that he should come to the border of the territory and and that he killed a man' 8758

<sup>1</sup>ÉC III p.248

PH cia hingnad imorrd roboi and iar fhír, cia no-dechsad hi  
curp nemthruaillnide 'what wonder indeed was there in it  
 by right that he might go into an unsullied body' 6749

(2) Indirect Commands

The subjunctive of willing and wishing is found in these clauses e.g. asbert friu nad remthíastais in orig 'he told them they should not precede the king' LU 83 b 27; asbert Conchubar fria muintir ara scortis a cairptiu 'Conor said to his people that they should unyoke their chariots' IT I 137.5

In later Irish indirect commands are expressed by verbal noun phrases.

(3) Indirect Questions

See p. 122 above.